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FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON COMMUNITY AND EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

BY

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BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge

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The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE . MASSACHUSETTS
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PREFACE

It may seem presumptuous for a specialist from another field to attempt to outline for young students the essentials in this field, with its immense literature of facts, researches, theories, and speculations, from which is just emerging the new science of sociology that must be the basis of all successful social reforms. Yet freedom from having dwelt on details is an advantage rather than a disadvantage in getting and presenting a general view of a subject.

Again, sociology both scientific and practical, has been a subject of interest to the author for more than a quarter of a century, during which time he has been gaining clearer ideas without having them fixed by any one school of thought. Becoming convinced that sociology may be of as much value to education as psychology, he prepared a course which he has given to his own students and to students in summer sessions at the Universities of West Virginia and of Vermont. The response of those students, both elementary and advanced, confirmed his belief in the value of the subject and gave some confidence in the suitability of his presentation for promoting scientific and practical thinking and research in sociological lines.

No attempt has been made at completeness of treatment of any topic, but no effort has been spared to reveal the fundamental influences affecting group life and action in its earlier beginnings and in present-day life. Technical terms are avoided because they are

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numerous and not well established in meaning and would contribute to confusion rather than to exactness of thought.

It is expected that teachers who use this book will have it supplemented by reading, discussion, and research to a considerable extent, and that they will pass lightly over some topics and spend a great deal of time on others that are perhaps merely mentioned here. It is also hoped that students will be accorded a good deal of liberty as to the special lines of study they pursue.

Education is now such an important phase of social life that every student of sociology should become familiar with its purposes and problems, yet the large proportion of space devoted to it in this book will perhaps make the book most interesting for those preparing for the teaching profession.

The questions asked and the reports and facts called for at the close of each chapter are intended to be suggestive to teacher and pupils rather than directive. Little or much may be done in those lines, as desired or as time permits. In all cases pupils should do some reading, observing, and writing on special topics.

A complete bibliography would be impossible, while the value of exact references to the precise books, chapters, and articles that it is best to read in connection with each topic depends so much upon the length of the course, the library facilities of the institution, the age and interest of students, and the purpose of the instructor that the idea of giving such detailed references was abandoned. At the close of the book will be found a selected list of books that the author believes will aid in introducing readers to a knowledge

of the literature treating of all phases of sociology. No attempt is made to refer to the exhaustless periodical literature except by giving the names of a few journals where many valuable articles may be found.

It is hoped that the book may prove interesting and clarifying to general readers and that it will accelerate the movement toward increasing the prominence of sociological study in colleges and normal schools and even in certain high schools.

Thanks are due to my daughter for clerical assistance, to my wife for literary help, and to Louis M. Wilson and Dr. J. P. Porter, of Clark University, for courtesies and suggestions.

E. A. K.

December 10, 1915.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nature of Sociology. Sociology has for its subject-matter the life and behavior of human beings in groups and it seeks to formulate the laws governing group activities. It concerns itself with the products of social action in the form of customs, institutions, and laws, and with all influences, conscious and unconscious, involved in coöperating for the securing of common ends. In its broadest view it includes the study of the nature and history of man, the formation and behavior of family, community, and national groups, and the evolution of all that we call civilization. Its phenomena may be studied in any group of people acting for common ends, such as a hunting party, a group of students forming a new literary society or an athletic association. Sociology must consider how groups form, increase, develop, retrograde, unite, separate, coöperate, compete, and dissolve or survive as a group.

The laws revealed by the science of sociology may be used in directing groups of people in efficient activity toward the satisfaction of common desires. On the negative side it should show how poverty, crime, and other weakening and disturbing activities may be eliminated. Sociology has often been defined as the science of society, but this only opens the way for a more difficult definition of what is meant by society. The state-

ment that sociology is the science of human association means nearly the same and is a little clearer.

Most sociologists have given a good deal of prominence to the subjective states of the individuals constituting a social group, but now that psychology is becoming more objective or behavioristic, there is reason for giving more prominence to the objective behavior of groups of people and less to their supposed mental states. We must recognize that just as unconscious and instinctive impulses play a large part in the actions of individuals, so also do they in the actions of groups of people. Sociology will be more scientific if it is based primarily on what groups of people do and secondarily upon their subjective mental states.

Relation to other sciences. Sociology as a science includes many other sciences and utilizes facts from all fields of knowledge. It is related to biology, since man is one of the many species of animals inhabiting the earth, and to physiology, since the actions of men depend upon their physical condition. Geography in considering earth as the home of man is to a considerable extent sociological in character. Anthropology and ethnology contribute to sociology in describing the physical structure of men and the products of their manual activities. History furnishes all sorts of facts for the consideration of the sociologist, while all the languages and the science of philology supply facts and truths regarding social actions in connection with which the various languages were formed. Ethics and religion reveal important influences concerned in the regulation of conduct of groups of people. Psychology supplies many important facts and laws which largely determine the character of group life and of social action.

There are other fields of knowledge that may be regarded as not merely related to sociology but as divisions of the subject. One of the most prominent of these is the science of economics, which deals with the activities of men involved in producing, distributing, and consuming things of value. Political science is another important division of sociology dealing especially with the regulation of human conduct. Social psychology from one point of view may also be regarded as a division, though it is more properly a science upon which sociology is based. History furnishes facts for sociology and becomes a branch of the science when its facts are so classified as to show general truths regarding the action of men in groups. Ethics is largely sociological, but concerns itself with how men should act and not merely with the laws governing their action. The science of education constitutes one division of sociology, since it concerns a very important form of group activity. There are numberless special fields coming under the general head of sociology, such as the problems of labor and capital, crime, poverty, etc.

The essential characteristics of social phenomena. Men form groups and act as one, partly by instinct and partly as the result of intelligent deliberation and planning. The most important factor in producing social phenomena is a common need that can best be met by coöperative action. So long as men have different needs which can be met by their own individual efforts there is no occasion for the formation of groups and for coöperation. If they have a common need, such as escaping from danger or the securing of food, each one is stimulated instinctively by the action of others. But if each is trying in his own way to satisfy his need,

without reference to the others and regardless of any customary mode or rule of behavior, his action is non-social. It is only when each performs a part of the complex act by which the end is secured for all, or when there is some regulation of activities by the customs or rules of the group to which they belong, that the action becomes social in character.

This type of action is shown, not only by human beings of all grades, but also by animals, as when wolves hunt in a pack or cattle form in a circle for defense. If several individuals all use their power in the same way for a common end, as when they all push a heavy log that is to be used for a boat, we have coöperative action, but of a simpler sort than when they do different things, some lifting, others prying or pulling, and one directing the united effort by signals.

A still higher type of coöperation is shown when some are making tools for moving and cutting the heavy log. The social nature of their acts is still more characteristic, though less evident, in the fact that the tools have perhaps been invented by other men and the various methods of using them also devised and practiced by others. In all phenomena that are truly social the actions of each individual are motived and directed, not by his own personal impulses, but by other persons present and not present, living and dead.

Sociology is especially concerned with the evolution of the more complex forms of coöperation. In the tropics a man may gather bananas for himself, and the act is not social in character. But in the temperate regions a thousand persons have performed different parts of the complex act by which the banana is brought to the breakfast table. Countless thousands have also con-

tributed to the existence of the breakfast table and to the customs associated with it.

Sociology does not limit itself to coöperative acts that are being performed by a group of people in the presence of each other, but also concerns itself with the origin and influence of customs that regulate the actions of individuals when they are alone. It also considers the social phenomena of institutions such as corporations, banks, railroads, labor unions, and governments, that facilitate, direct, and modify coöperative action.

Nor are social phenomena limited to coöperative action. Competitive action is also social in character when it is regulated by social customs or when it helps to bring about coöperative action. An ordinary fight between two angry men may not be a social phenomenon, but if they fight according to the rules of the prize ring or the dueling code, or according to the ideas and customs of the community in which they live, social phenomena are clearly involved. The taking of food by an individual is conceivably not social in character, but if the action of the eater is influenced by the customs of the group to which he belongs, the action has in it an element of the social.

Some acts are, so far as the individual is concerned, anti-social in character. Any one who acts in opposition to the coöperative efforts of others of his own group, or who takes pains to act in opposition to their customs and rules, may be regarded as anti-social in his conduct. If, however, he is doing this in the hope of establishing better means of coöperation or better customs, his actions are not strictly anti-social, although they may appear to his companions to be so.

The phenomena of sociology, inexplicably complex as

they seem, may be greatly simplified in thought if we regard them chiefly as modes of coöperative action by which common human desires are satisfied. In accordance with this simplifying idea the chief divisions of sociology will be made on the basis of ends served.

EXERCISES

1. Make a list of a dozen sciences and state how they are related to sociology, or study and discuss Compte's classification and hierarchy of the sciences.
2. Give not fewer than three examples each of social acts, of non-social acts, and of anti-social acts, and state why they are such.
3. How many people are required to constitute a social group? How many to perform a social act? Illustrate and discuss.

CHAPTER II

EVOLUTION OF GROUP ACTION

The formation of groups. The long period of helpless infancy in man makes comparatively permanent groups inevitable. Instincts impel the young to remain with the old and the old to protect and care for the young, hence family groups form. The habit of acting together tends to prolong the family grouping beyond the period of necessity and the requirement of the instincts impelling them to remain together. There is inevitably some division of labor in the family group, the father usually being concerned in finding food and guarding against danger and the mother in preparing food and caring for the children.

Families are rarely found alone, but associated with other families with whom they coöperate as occasion demands. The tribe or the community, therefore, constitutes almost as fundamental a group as the family, and in many instances there is little distinction between the two, the community or tribe being simply a larger family, while the adults are equally the protectors of all the children. Various influences determine the size of groups and lead to division into smaller groups or the uniting of several into one.

Geographical influences. The most fundamental influences determining the size of groups and the degree of coöperation are geographical in character. A rich, productive valley may be inhabited by a large group of people who live in close proximity, but coöperate to only

a limited extent. If, however, they are attacked by enemies, a considerable degree of coöperation may be developed. In less productive and hemmed-in regions the groups are likely to be either smaller or migratory in their habits, for the country will not support, except for a short time, a large population. The occupations of each group, such as hunting, fishing, herding, agriculture, are determined by the geography of the region in which they live. Customs, institutions, and religious beliefs are also greatly influenced by climate and occupations.

In the more primitive stages of group life the social life of man is to a large extent the product of geographical influences. As man progresses and modifies this environment, he becomes more and more independent of geographical influences and much the same type of civilization may be found in every zone.

Influence of group upon group. Just as the individual is influenced more by companions than he is by the natural surroundings, so are groups of human beings influenced by other groups. In primitive life the relation of each group to other groups is often that of enmity. Where conditions of life are easy, groups are rather loosely held together unless they are threatened by danger of attack from some other group. In warm but comparatively barren regions, small groups are likely to compete with other groups for the scanty means of subsistence. In frigid regions the necessity of coöperating to secure shelter and the larger game results in group life without much competition with other groups. In temperate regions, if there is a productive region near a comparatively unproductive region, coöperation of the people of the productive region

is often brought about through raids being made upon them by the people of less productive sections. If these raids are made only at rare intervals, the co-operation may be only temporary; but if they occur frequently, there is likely to be a more permanent uniting and coöperating on the part of the inhabitants of the richer region.

Where groups of people are in regions furnishing ample subsistence but of different kinds, as for example, valley, upland, and seashore, where fish are plentiful in one region, herds in another, and fruits and grain in another, the groups of people inhabiting these several regions are more likely to be friendly and exchange their products with each other. In thus exchanging products each group exerts an important influence upon the other. They exchange tools, also their methods of working, their customs and beliefs. Frequently there is marriage between the different groups, and if danger threatens all may unite into one larger group.

Where one group is at war with another group, it would seem at first that the effect would be only to compel each to coöperate more effectively, but this is not the only result. Each learns of the weapons and modes of warfare of the others and is stimulated to new inventions to meet their attacks. War in all ages has thus been one of the strongest stimuli to effort and to invention. In addition to this, prisoners are often taken, especially women, who become wives of the conquerors. This inevitably results in the interchange of tools, customs, and beliefs and in the modification of the hereditary characteristics of the groups.

In the more primitive conditions of life, war with

other groups of people was the most important cause of coöperation and of progress; but in more civilized conditions of life, progress is more effectually promoted by friendly relations between the different nations. It must be admitted, however, that even yet nothing so strongly stimulates to coöperation and unity of action on the part of any people as war that threatens the destruction of the group. The nations whose people have learned to coöperate most effectively are the ones that survive.

Likeness and difference in group action. A certain amount of similarity is favorable to group action, but not absolute sameness. If all have the same powers and the same needs, they are more likely to compete individually than to coöperate as a group. Nature has provided certain fundamental differences in the members of all permanent groups of human beings. There are adult men, adult women, and children, who are more or less helpless. In addition to these there are also always some old or infirm persons.

Besides these primary and fundamental differences in individuals composing a permanent group there are also differences in general and special ability. At least three grades of general ability are to be found in every community, medium, superior, and inferior, while the varieties of special ability — manual, intellectual, artistic, etc. — are numberless.

Coöperative action is effective in proportion as there is a common need and as each individual performs the part for which he is best fitted in the complex process by which the need is met; hence there is much specialization of abilities. The higher the stage of civilization reached, the more complex the process and the greater

the specialization of the individuals coöperating in industrial and intellectual lines.

Leaders. The most important persons in every group are those of superior ability who act as leaders. In more primitive conditions of life, the leader is quicker, stronger, and usually more intelligent than other members of the group. He is the first to sense danger and the first to learn how to meet or avoid it. His actions influence others and they join him in escaping or fighting. In providing for the necessities of food and shelter, the leader is the first to perceive what needs to be done and to suggest the line of action to be pursued. Besides being quick to perceive and to act, the leader is one who has the ability to impress others and to cause them to imitate or obey him.

Among savage people the leader is often a hunter or a warrior. If he is successful the group derives great advantage from his leadership and is likely to submit to him at other times and in other matters than those of war and the chase. Throughout all history the warrior leader has exerted a powerful influence, not only during the war, but also in times of peace. Note, for example, how many of the warrior leaders in the United States have been elected to fill civil offices.

Among all primitive people, where there is not a continuous state of war, there is another type of leader whose influence is equally powerful. He is known variously as a medicine man, shaman, or priest. He is supposed to be especially powerful in guarding against dangers whose source and nature are unknown. He professes to be able to cure diseases, to provide means of avoiding accident, to bring rain, and to cause crops to grow, and in general to secure the help and favor of

the powers of nature and the spirits of the air. Shrewdness especially in managing people is as necessary a part of his outfit as is physical ability in the case of a primitive war leader. He becomes especially powerful through fostering superstitions and religious beliefs. He performs elaborate ceremonies to impress the people. To maintain his place he must be acute in perceiving what is likely to happen and so perform his ceremonies that it will seem as though they were the cause of what takes place. Sometimes the medicine man or shaman acts in opposition to the hunter or warrior leader and sometimes in harmony with him. He is frequently consulted as to when and where to hunt or go to war and how to obtain success. Occasionally a leader successfully combines the two rôles of warrior and medicine man.

Until comparatively recent times these two types of leaders have played a large part in the history of the world. At the present time civil, industrial, artistic, and scientific leaders are taking a more and more prominent place in stimulating and directing group action.

Effect of leaders on customs and classes. The effects of leadership are not confined to the actions performed under the direction of a leader, but continue long after he has passed away. All who, under the direction of a leader, have acted in a certain way develop a tendency to act in similar ways under similar circumstances. The younger generation inevitably follows the example of its elders and the modes of action originated by the leader become more and more firmly established as customs. Any tendency to vary from these customs, if not prevented by the mere force of habit, is often thwarted

by a recital of what was accomplished by the great leader. In many instances he is more or less deified and his influence is more powerful after he is dead than while he was living.

Custom in a broad sense may include not only the usual objective actions of a group of people, but also the habits of thought and feeling transmitted from one generation to another which govern their more conscious judgments and sentiments. Sometimes the term "folkways" or "*mores*" is used to designate customs in the broader, deeper sense of the word. In this sense, *mores* govern the modes of thinking and determine sentiments and ideals as well as the habitual acts of every race. They are the source of its proverbs and of its moral and religious regulations.

Changes in conditions may make modifications in customs advantageous, but unless a new leader arises who sees this and is able to impress his followers with the desirability of change, customs once established will continue with only slight modifications. As people become more civilized, reason, in part, takes the place of custom, and then it is not so difficult to bring about changes. This is especially true when a group of people is brought into contact with people having different customs of which they can see the advantages.

Closely associated with the influence of leaders upon custom is the effect of their leadership in producing a division of the people into more or less artificial classes according to their relationship to him. The successful warrior leader becomes the governor of the people in times of peace because of his personal power and the service he has rendered. Nothing is too good for the king. He has special privileges and he is subject to

none of the regulations imposed upon the rest of the people.

Members of his family and those who have served as officers under him are likely to be given some of the same honors and immunities. Those who have served him as warriors take a somewhat lower place, but one distinctly above the common people. Sometimes those who have engaged in occupations conspicuously helpful to him acquire a position higher than their fellows, while those who have been captured in war and become slaves of his own or of his noblemen are in the lowest class. In case he is occupying a conquered country, the people he has conquered occupy a lower place than those of his own group. Thus have leaders been the cause of artificial class distinctions in all nations.

As people become more intelligent and less subject to the influence of custom and tradition, these artificial social distinctions between classes of people slowly but gradually disappear. At the present time most of the kings of the earth have little arbitrary authority and they are expected to conform to the ordinary rules of morality. Recently division into classes has come to be based more upon wealth and occupation than upon birth and tradition and the classes are therefore less fixed.

Products of group action. The products of social action are of two types, material and immaterial, yet each has in it elements of the other type. The material products are tools, weapons, utensils, clothing, houses, roads, machines, cultivated fields, etc. The immaterial products are customs, languages, institutions, laws, knowledge.

Although a tool is classed as a material product, yet

skill and knowledge have gone into its manufacture, and the tool or machine is something more than the material of which it is composed. Also, without skill and knowledge on the part of the one who attempts to use it, the tool is worthless. On the other hand, the immaterial thing, knowledge, is useful only to him who possesses it. To be useful to future generations it must be expressed in some material form, such as books or tablets. Art is an immaterial social product, but with the exception of music it must be embodied in a material form.

Customs are a universal product of group action. Every member of the group is directed and bound by them, and each new member comes under their sway unless he is endowed with unusual qualities of force and initiative. Customs once started go on forever except as modified by contact with other customs, the existence of new conditions, and the influence of a powerful leader.

Of all products of group action, institutions are most characteristic and most important. Little or no intelligence is necessary to start and follow customs, but an institution requires a certain amount of intelligent planning. Some one must see the need for doing a certain thing, and must plan the mode of doing it which can be carried out by successive individuals acting in certain ways.

Just as a tool is a material social invention, so is an institution an immaterial social invention. Some of the simpler tools are the product of chance experience rather than of intelligent planning, and in a similar way some institutions — such, for instance, as that of marriage and of government — have become institutions

through a combination of customs. Most institutions, however, are largely originated and perpetuated by conscious planning on the part of some one.

A machine is the material embodiment of a great deal of intelligence and skill and an institution is an immaterial embodiment of wisdom and experience. For example, such an institution as a successful insurance company is the product of the experience and intelligence of thousands of persons. This intelligence is represented chiefly in the plans and rules that must be followed in organizing and running such an institution. These having been worked out, the amount of intelligence required on the part of those who conduct the institution is not very great so long as conditions remain the same and the rules work as they have done. Men may make mistakes and will surely die, but an institution conducted according to rules makes few mistakes in its fundamental operation and it may go on for ever. For example, national banks cannot now fail if conducted according to law.

In the ultimate analysis, knowledge is probably the highest social product, but it is least self-perpetuating. Customs and institutions are group affairs, but knowledge belongs to the individual, and to survive must be imparted to successive generations of individuals. When embodied in the form of written language or in the working of institutions, it may be perpetuated for untold generations. In order to be useful the language in which it is embodied must, however, be understood, and there must be a basis of individual experience for comprehending the thoughts expressed. Customs, on the other hand, are followed without thought or effort, and different phases of institutional activity may be learned

without an understanding of the wisdom involved in the organization and rules of the institution.

A group of people who possess knowledge may construct tools and machines, initiate customs, and organize institutions. Hence knowledge is not merely a product in itself, but it is a means of reproducing every other social product that may have been destroyed and a guide in forming new ones. Art is an important social product, but artistic ability and appreciation are not so readily transferred from one individual to another as is knowledge. The designer of a bridge may leave records that will make possible the designing of other bridges, but the originator of a work of art cannot formulate directions that others can utilize in painting pictures or writing poems. For example, Poe has told us how to construct a poem like "The Raven," but none but a genius can follow those directions successfully.

EXERCISES

1. Give facts showing how physical characteristics, mental characteristics, customs, laws, and institutions are affected by geographical influences.
2. Describe groups of people who travel from place to place at different times of the year.
3. Describe instances of migration and immigration and discuss causes.
4. Give facts showing how trade between two groups of people influences them.
5. Give ancient and modern illustrations of the effects of war upon coöperative action.
6. Show how variety in ability and special skill makes effective coöperation possible in a community or in any group of people.

7. Show the necessity of some likeness in a coöperating group.
8. Describe the characteristics of leaders with whom you are familiar in relation to those they lead.
9. Give reasons for and against the view that all advances in civilization have been due chiefly to leaders.
10. Do leaders ever interfere with advance? How?
11. What types of leadership are most prominent to-day in school, community, nation, and the world?
12. Name the most distinct classes of people to-day in your community.
13. Give illustrations of the persistence and strength of customs.
14. Report on the development of customs in some schools or societies showing the part leaders have had in originating and changing customs.
15. A simple subject of investigation would be to determine why in this country dinner is in some communities at noon and in others at night, especially if there have been recent changes.

CHAPTER III

THE BIOLOGICAL VIEW OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Man's chief means of survival. Since sociology is concerned with the life of man, as well as with his group activities, his place in the world of living things and his relation to plants and animals must be considered. Man is only one of the many species of animals struggling for existence and for more extensive and complete living. In general he is subject to the same laws of life, growth, and evolution as are other animals. Like many other animals he is found in groups and this group life is one of the means enabling him to survive as a species. His social instincts and his intelligence make it possible for him to coöperate and thus to get more benefit from group life than can almost any other animal.

He has gained the supremacy in the contest with larger animals through skill of hand, intelligence, and efficient group activity. He is distinguished from all other animals by the fact that he greatly modifies his environment, while they in general simply adapt themselves to it. The principal characteristic giving him his place at the head of animal life is that of intelligence. This serves him instead of natural weapons, strength, or speed. He is able to fashion for himself weapons and tools by means of which he may conquer other animals and make such changes in his environment as will give him food, shelter, and protection from danger. This is especially true of civilized man. It is because of intelligence that this country supports to-day a hundred

million people where three centuries ago a few hundred thousand savages were unable to keep themselves continuously supplied with food.

Balance of nature. In the struggle for existence each species of plant and animal survives because of its relation to other species and to the conditions of the region. In any portion of the world where conditions have remained nearly the same for ages, there is a fairly well-established balance in nature. Increase of the food of a given species may temporarily increase its numbers, but this in turn gives a chance for its enemies who prey upon it to increase and thus the balance is restored.

These two facts, that there is a balance in nature and that man makes important changes in his environment, have very important results. As long as climatic conditions remain practically the same for ages, there will be little change in the plant and animal life of a region. A few years that are especially favorable for one species may cause a great increase in the numbers of that species. This increase will not, however, be permanent, for any species that feeds upon the one that is increased will have a much better chance and will also increase to such an extent that the other will be diminished. If the number of this second species becomes great, their food supply becomes inadequate, and they in turn will be diminished to a point where the first may again increase. Such compensating relations exist between all the species of plants and animals in a given region, so that the balance, which is continually being temporarily disturbed, is automatically restored.

Man makes great changes in the life of the regions that he inhabits. First, he moves plants or animals to new environments, where if their usual enemies are not

present they multiply enormously, as in the case of rabbits taken to Australia and English sparrows and brown-tail moths to New England. Second, he destroys some species and increases the number of others, as when forests are felled and corn is planted, or when wolves are destroyed and cattle bred. Third, he changes the characteristics of plants and animals by breeding and selection.

Whenever such changes are made, fresh difficulties are always met. If extensive regions are planted with one kind of crop, the insects that feed upon that crop multiply enormously, and since they are artificially fed by man, they must be artificially destroyed by him or the crop will fail. In breeding plants and animals to make prominent characteristics that are desirable to him, man produces varieties less hardy than those found in nature. Hence he must combat the weeds that would destroy his crops and must guard his pure-blooded animals against injury and disease.

Among the chief factors that determine the amount of life on any portion of the earth are heat and moisture. Man, standing at the head of living things, and dependent directly or indirectly upon the amount of plant and animal food produced on the earth, cannot increase in numbers beyond the limits of subsistence that the earth affords. On some portions of the earth where there is little heat and on others where there is little or no moisture, the earth will perhaps support not one person to the square mile, while, where both heat and moisture are abundant and the soil favorable, hundreds may live in luxury. Except in a very few favored tropical regions, however, only a few persons can obtain a living on a mile of territory that has not been

modified by man. By working the soil, planting the right crops and taking proper care of them several persons are able to get a living from a single acre of ground.

The law of diminishing returns. Such an enormous increase in the amount of food produced on an acre of land is possible that it may seem as if there were no limit to such increase. It may be that there is no absolute limit, but it is found that the amount of increase of product in relation to the labor expended does soon reach a limit. By proper planting, fertilization, and cultivation the amount produced on an acre may be doubled or quadrupled. A further doubling of fertilizer and of intensive cultivation will almost surely not result in doubling the crop. On the contrary, too much fertilizer will diminish the amount produced, and an increase in the work expended in preparing the soil and cultivating the crop will not produce a corresponding increase in the product. It is not possible, therefore, for the people living in any region to increase indefinitely the food products. There is always a point reached beyond which an increase in labor expended does not result in a corresponding increase in the product. This is known as the law of diminishing returns.

Ability and readiness in learning may temporarily obscure this law, as when a better selection of seed gives a larger crop without any increased effort, or a more suitable kind of fertilizer or method of handling the crop increases the production; but whatever means are used a limit is reached in the amount that may be produced in a given region until new discoveries are made. A further effort to increase the product will then result in smaller and smaller increase. This law of diminishing

returns holds for every form of agriculture, including stock-raising.

It also applies to mining. Through the use of machinery and the most effective specialization and organization of labor, the amount of coal or ore taken from the mine may be greatly increased, but when the possibilities of improvement in this direction are reached and the coal or ore must be brought from greater depths or from thinner veins, the amount obtained for a given amount of labor becomes less and less.

It would seem, then, that although the earth, in response to intelligent effort, will for a while yield richer returns for the labor expended, yet there is a tendency for these returns to become proportionally less. By invention and discovery man may combat this law and continue to increase the earth's products, but whenever he ceases to find new and more effective means of agriculture and mining the law of diminishing returns is sure to begin to work.

In the case of manufacturing the conditions seem to be somewhat different. Increase in the size of a manufacturing establishment makes possible the employment of more efficient machines and methods, and more and more is produced in proportion to the amount of labor expended. There scarcely seems to be a limit beyond which increase in the amount produced will result in greater cost of production, providing the articles produced are all alike. The only way in which the law of diminishing returns can affect the manufacturing industries is indirectly, through a diminution in the raw materials in proportion to the amount of work expended in getting them from the earth, or through increasing transportation costs.

This will probably be shown first in the diminishing supply of lumber and of coal, but this is being met in part by the discovery and utilization of means by which wind, water, and other forces of nature are made to do the work of manufacturing.

The law of Malthus. About a century ago a noted thinker named Malthus, after considering some of the facts just mentioned, came to the conclusion that there is an inevitable tendency for the population in every portion of the earth to increase and the means of subsistence to become relatively small. He held that, since the product did not increase in the same proportion as the amount of labor expended, a time would come when the labor of the increased number of human beings would not furnish them enough food to maintain life. So far as the facts then known are concerned his conclusions seem justified. So many inventions and discoveries have been made, however, that up to the present time the means of subsistence are greater rather than less in proportion to the number of people and to the amount of labor expended. People now work fewer hours and have more of the necessities and luxuries of life than was the case when Malthus lived. This has been made possible, however, not wholly by increase of productiveness in the thickly inhabited regions, but by the development of the earth's resources in other places which are now easily drawn upon by our improved means of transportation. If, however, the population of the earth shall continue to increase as Malthus estimated that it would, there will surely come a time, unless discoveries and inventions greatly alter the situation, when the means of subsistence will not increase in proportion to the labor expended.

Growth of population. The increase in population has proved to be much less than that anticipated by Malthus. Although human beings increase much less rapidly than other animals, the rate biologically possible is very great. Four or five generations may be produced in a century and each woman may bear twelve children. Other influences make the increase much less than this. Marriage is frequently delayed, thus decreasing the size of the family and the number of generations produced in a century. There are also many women who never marry and a large number of those who do are barren. Since the time of Malthus the increase in population has been lessened in other ways. In all civilized countries there has been a very considerable decrease in the size of families.

This is partly balanced by decrease in the death-rate, especially of infants. In France the birth- and death-rate have been nearly equal for several decades, and as there has been little migration to and from that country, the population has remained almost stationary. In other countries the birth-rate is still in excess of the death-rate, but statistics show that while both are decreasing the birth-rate is decreasing more rapidly. If this continues the time is not far distant when the population of the earth will be stationary or decreasing. If this should happen and the inventiveness of man continue as it has for the last hundred years, it will be possible for the law of diminishing returns to be more than neutralized, subsistence increasing more rapidly than population and more necessities and luxuries being obtained by fewer hours of labor.

Evolution of human characteristics. Some animals survive by their great productiveness, others by their

strength, swiftness, or ability to live under hard conditions. Man's chief means of survival and of supremacy over other animals lie in intelligence which enables him to modify and utilize the things in his environment and the forces of nature for his own ends. In most species of animals there is a struggle for existence, not only with other species, but among the individuals of the same species, and those survive who are best fitted to the conditions of life. This is less true of man than of other animals and still less true the more civilized he becomes. Men coöperate more than they compete. Various kinds of ability are thus utilized and the weak are protected and supported by the strong.

At the present time the struggle among human beings is to only a slight extent for survival, but chiefly for position. Very few die for the want of food or shelter. The general biological law affecting survival is, therefore, in the case of the human species, considerably modified by what is sometimes called counter-selection. Intelligence was never so important a factor in the life of man as it is to-day, but intelligence determines not so much who shall live as who shall take a prominent place. The intellectual achievements of men are due to their intellectual capacity, on the one hand, and to the opportunities they have of acquiring and making use of the intellectual products of past generations.

It is very doubtful whether the intellectual capacity of man is any greater than it was several thousand years ago, and there are probably biological reasons why it will not greatly increase in the future. Intellectual capacity depends upon the size and structure of the nervous system, especially of the brain. A large

brain means a large head, and it is a well-known fact that children with excessively large heads are generally stillborn. If it be supposed that there may be a tendency to a greater growth of head after birth, then we must recognize certain laws of physical balance in the organism which would make the development of human beings with excessively large heads impossible. If the nervous system were disproportionately prominent, health could not be maintained and the individual would die or the activity of the brain would be interfered with. From the biological point of view, although it may be possible, it is certainly not probable, that there will be any very great increase in the intellectual capacity of the human being. The so-called super-man will probably never appear.

This does not mean, however, that there will be no further change in the intellectual characteristics of men. When we observe what has been accomplished in the breeding of animals we are impressed with the fact that although no super-horse, cow, dog, or hen has been produced, yet that there has been great specialization of characteristics. We have the trotting horse, the running horse, and the draft horse, the milch cow and the beef cow, and scores of varieties of dogs excelling in one or another characteristic. In a similar way it would undoubtedly be possible to develop specialized varieties of human beings — mathematicians, musicians, artists, scientists, philosophers, men of great executive ability, etc. Theoretically this is undoubtedly possible, but practically the possibilities are not likely to be very fully realized. In such countries as India, where the caste system has prevailed for many centuries, and where there is almost no marrying outside

of one's caste, there has been a development of rather distinct varieties of human beings. In other countries there is something of a tendency for persons of the same mental characteristics to become acquainted with each other and to marry, but unless mating is controlled by authority and custom more completely than it ever has been, it is not likely that very highly specialized varieties of human beings will be developed.

Eugenics. There has been much talk recently of possible improvements in the human race. The above considerations indicate that much improvement in general intelligence is scarcely possible and that specialization of intelligence is not probable unless very important and undemocratic changes in our social regulations be made. There is still, however, a possibility of improvement, chiefly in a negative way. When the different classes of people are studied it is found that some are increasing in numbers much more rapidly than others. It seems as if intelligence itself were limiting the development of intelligence in man as a species, for the birth-rate is smallest among the most intelligent and greatest among the unintelligent and feeble-minded.

This is due partly to the fact that those who attain intellectual prominence must defer marriage until a later age. This results in smaller families and fewer generations to the century. In addition to this, there is clear evidence that a large proportion of the more intelligent classes are voluntarily limiting the size of their families. If everybody married and all the children born lived to maturity, it would be necessary, in order to maintain population, that there should be two children in each family. Since many children die and

some individuals do not marry or produce any children, the number of children in each family must average between three and four in order that population may not decrease. Statistics of the families of college graduates show that the size of their families ranges on the average from one and a half to two and a half. On the other hand, it is found that the average family of common laborers is considerably above that necessary to maintain population, while the birth-rate among the feeble-minded is still greater. It is evident, therefore, that at the present time there are strong influences tending to increase the numbers of the unintelligent portion of the population far more rapidly than of the intelligent.

This is partly counteracted by the extensive intermarriage of peoples of various grades of intelligence and also by the fact that the classification of people as unintelligent or intelligent according to the position they occupy in society is not at all reliable. The common laborer may have as much intellectual capacity as the doctor or lawyer, and his son, when given proper opportunities, may show intellectual capacity equal to that of the son of the professional man. Still the fact remains that human beings of the lower types, especially of the feeble-minded variety, are numerous, and their numbers are increasing more rapidly than are those of a higher type. The most obvious thing to be done, therefore, by those interested in eugenics, is to devise means for preventing the production of the unfit and to make conditions more favorable for increased productiveness of the fit.

The best means known at present of preventing the increase of the unfit, especially of the feeble-minded, is

custodial care during the child-producing period. It is estimated that the feeble-minded number between one and two per cent of the total population and that nearly three fourths of all cases of feeble-mindedness are hereditary. If, therefore, all feeble-minded persons now living were prevented from producing children, feeble-mindedness would be reduced by more than one half in a single generation. Further study of the laws of heredity and of what affects development before and after birth, in particular the influence of drugs and diseases, would make it possible still further to decrease the production of the unfit, not only those that are feeble-minded, but those that are defective in other ways or who have a tendency to insanity.

On the positive side, those interested in eugenics may do most by a campaign of education which will develop an interest and pride in the production of healthy and intelligent children, and give increased knowledge of how this may be done. Probably something may be gained by making economic conditions more favorable for those who are likely to produce and care for such children.

Another side of the problem of producing a higher type of human beings is concerned with making the physical, social, and mental conditions favorable to the development of the best inherited capacity of each individual. This method of improving the human race, not through heredity, but through favorable surroundings, has been named euthenics. Its problems, as we shall see later, are much the same as those of education.

EXERCISES

1. Give examples of social animals and how they help each other to survive when living in groups.
2. Give several striking examples of how man has modified his environment.
3. Give examples showing how one species is limited in its development by other plants or animals.
4. Study density of population in the United States in relation to rainfall.
5. Give examples in detail of the working of the law of diminishing returns in farming and in mining.
6. Report on the theory and arguments of Malthus.
7. Illustrate the law of increasing returns in manufacturing.
8. Explain how so many millions can live on the small space of earth occupied by New York City.
9. Illustrate the increase of luxuries in the last century. Show how competition for place has increased.
10. Report statistics of birth-rate and death-rate in various countries.
11. Summarize the facts favoring Malthus' law and those favoring its opposite.
12. Summarize the arguments in favor and against the probability of further increase in general intelligence in man.
13. Describe more fully the possibilities and probabilities of man's increasing in special types of intelligence.
14. Discuss ways of raising the general standards of intelligence by means of eugenics.
15. Discuss the possibility of improving man by education.

CHAPTER IV

A PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEW OF BEHAVIOR AND NEEDS

Consciousness and group behavior. Some of the earlier sociologists, notably Rousseau, held that human beings formed groups instead of living solitary lives, because of a social contract by which they gave up certain individual rights in order to gain the advantages that came from association with others. If this were to be taken literally, nothing could be farther from the truth. Men have always lived in groups as they are impelled to do by instinct. It is the hermit who acts in accordance with conscious states instead of according to his instinct, who separates himself from the group. There are many advantages gained from forming groups, but consciousness of the advantages is not necessarily the cause of their being formed. Instinct rather than consciousness plays the larger part in the social actions of animals, of primitive man, and also of even the most civilized men.

The chief basis of the psychology of the crowd is the instinctive tendency to respond to the actions and signals of others in a more or less imitative way. If one individual shrieks and starts to run, others do the same, and soon the whole crowd is in a panic of fear that is not based upon any knowledge of danger, but is excited by the cries and movements of the others. A mob may burn and slay under the stimulus of cries and gestures, with little or no knowledge of the occasion for the act of vengeance.

Giddings regards consciousness of kind as one of the most important factors in social action. It is undoubtedly true that animals are more sensitive to the cries and actions of members of their own species than they are to those of another species, and this is true also of human beings. Even in persons, however, this is instinctive rather than involving a definite thought of others as being like ourselves. It is primarily the likeness rather than the consciousness of the likeness that gives all the same impulse and brings about group action.

There can be no doubt, however, that some sort of common consciousness is an important element in social action. Common consciousness is produced by a common situation and by common movements and attitudes, and it often is an important means of unifying a group of people and getting them ready for coöperative action. This common consciousness, however, is not likely to consist so much in a distinct thought of others as being like ourselves, as it is in a feeling that others have the same needs that we have. The fact that people of many different races may persistently coöperate and act together in a strike, shows that need rather than mental and physical similarity is the essential element in group action. Similarity is favorable to group action, probably in part because the similarity gives a stronger impression of the needs being the same and partly because those who are similar can understand one another better and can, therefore, coöperate more effectively.

Consciousness and a high degree of intelligence undoubtedly play a large part in the higher forms of cooperative action. This is shown especially in planning

the actions of a group so as to satisfy the common need. The work to be done by each individual and the rules that guide him in doing it must be carefully formulated. Instinctive impulses furnish the motive for coöperative action and conscious intelligence devises the means. Of all modes of common action the utterance of words is the most important. It is through the common consciousness thus produced that knowledge, the highest product of social action, results.

The social instincts of man. Man, like many other species of animals, has probably always lived in groups. This group life has produced a profound influence upon his nature. His most useful forms of behavior are either reactions, in company with others, to forces and objects in nature, or reactions to what other human beings are doing.

During the long period of infancy and immaturity it is much more necessary that the child shall notice and react to persons than to things. He is dependent upon persons for food and protection. It is better that he shall call for food and react to the signal that food is present than that he himself shall search for it. It is more important that he shall respond to danger signals than that he shall perceive the danger himself.

In animal and primitive human groups the individual that is quick to respond to food signals has a better chance to be well fed than those that are less sensitive to the movements and sounds of their companions, and the one that responds most quickly to danger signals is most likely to escape. The young that reach maturity are, therefore, not necessarily the strongest and boldest, but those that are most sensitive to what their older companions do and who react most quickly in an ap-

propriate way. In some respects group life is more favorable to weaker individuals than it is to the strong. In the competition within the group, however, for food and for mates, the strong have the advantage and thus a balance is preserved. The young animal or child that is sensitive to what members of the group are doing gains through imitating their safer line of conduct. When the young are partly grown, they begin to come into competition with their elders, and those who are first to perceive that the older ones have satisfied their hunger will be better fed than those who are slower, while those who attempt to secure the food too soon may get hurt. Similar conditions exist between adults and the leader of the group.

Also, in all the activities concerned in securing a mate, a premium is put upon quick perception of the meaning of actions of mates and rivals. The individual that most quickly perceives the meanings of movements and that most accurately estimates the strength of rivals, is the one that is likely to survive and produce descendants. Since any individual that makes a wrong move which angers his elders or the leader is likely to be driven away, while those that act in just the right way at the right time have privileges and advantages, there is developed a strong instinctive tendency to act so as to secure the approval of other members of the group.

Leaders must not only be quick to perceive and to act, but their actions must be impressive to others. A leader must be able to attract attention and to stimulate to the kind of action he desires. A leader observes his followers and by doing just the right thing at the right time is able, through the action of others, to get

more that he desires than he could by his own efforts. In meeting and fighting with individuals of his own species within and without the group, success depends as much on the ability to anticipate what the opponent will do as it does upon strength and quickness. These facts make it evident why the interest and attention of human beings are concerned more with what other human beings are doing than with anything else, and why desire for approval plays such a large part in life. People instinctively seek to remain with other persons because they are lonely and uncomfortable without the stimulus of other people.

Common needs of animals and human beings. Man, like other animals, has need of food, and also like them is endowed with the instinct to get it. He, as well as they, has need of protection from dangers of various kinds and has the instinct to escape from danger. Like them he requires a mate and is endowed with the mating instinct. Man, in common with other animals that live in groups, needs the companionship of those of his own kind, and instinctively seeks it. Most of the higher animals, including man, have need for recreation and consequently engage to a greater or less extent in play. Needs are the chief stimuli to action in both men and animals. Hence, sociology, in considering the actions of men in groups, must take into account their needs.

A large proportion of the activities of human beings are directly or indirectly aimed toward securing food. The chief difference between men and animals in this respect is, that while animals find their food, civilized man produces it. The need for food is the principal occasion for the phenomena of group activity considered under the head of economics. The need for protection

from danger has given rise to most of the activities considered under the head of political science. The need for a mate not only perpetuates the species, but has led to the formation of the primary social group, the family. The need of companionship has led to the formation of many other groups more or less permanent, while the need of recreation has led to various activities of play and amusement.

Higher human needs and instincts. In addition to the needs and instincts possessed in common with other animals, man has other needs and instincts that are either not present at all or in only a slight degree even in the higher animals. All animals have instinctive modes of satisfying their wants, while man is not so fully endowed with fixed instincts, but must to a much greater extent use his intelligence to find means of satisfying his desires. All animals as well as human beings have the instinct of curiosity. In man this amounts to an intellectual hunger to know. It is not limited to curiosity regarding the necessities of life, but extends to all sorts of phenomena. This becomes then a genuine need of human beings, and means of satisfying it to a greater or less extent are being used wherever there are groups of people, civilized or uncivilized.

The need for beauty is one that is also very strong in man and shown only slightly or not at all by animals. Music, art, and literature are the products of activities concerned in satisfying this need.

Among all human beings there is a very distinct need for the regulation of conduct. Other animals have this to only a slight extent because their instincts direct them. Man, acting partly in accordance with intelligence, feels the need of some directing and control-

ling influence. This need has given rise to two influences regulating conduct, the moral and the religious. In morals the individual's actions are directed not wholly by his own impulses or wishes, but in accordance with the customs and wishes of the group to which he belongs. In religious regulation of conduct, the wishes of some spirit are the standard. This need for the regulation of conduct by something outside of one's self has played a very prominent part in social development, and cannot be ignored by the scientific sociologist.

Classification of sociological phenomena. So varied and complex are the phenomena of group life and action and the resulting products that a satisfactory classification is exceedingly difficult. Considerable simplification results, however, when we reflect that all actions of men singly and in groups are the result of instinctive impulses to satisfy needs. These needs, although largely individual in character, are common to all human beings and many of them can be satisfied only through group life. Coöperative action is a more effective means of satisfying these common needs than individual effort. It is clear, then, that all sociological phenomena, from the comparatively blind action of the mob up to the most intelligent coöperative institutional activity of highly civilized man, constitute forms of action by means of which the needs of the group are satisfied. If, therefore, we classify social actions and social products according to the ends served, we shall have a classification that is fundamentally the same for all grades of civilization and for permanent groups of all sizes.

These needs are closely related and the means of satisfying them involve some of the same activities.

Hence, even on this basis, lines must not be drawn too sharply. It will be of great help, however, to be able to apply a few fundamental conceptions to group life in its various stages of evolution.

Among every group of people we shall find that most of the sociological phenomena may be considered under the following heads: First, economic needs and activities which were concerned primarily with securing food and gaining protection against climatic changes, and secondarily with the production and distribution of material things that serve these and other purposes; second, protective needs and the resulting activities, the purpose of which is to guard against dangers to the group from other groups, from dangers of the environment, and from the action of anti-social individuals within the group who would otherwise not conform to the regulations necessary in order to preserve life and property against death and injury; third, recreative needs and those activities by means of which body and mind are refreshed; fourth, social needs and the activities which satisfy the social instincts; fifth, cultural needs and the activities which gratify intellectual and æsthetic desires; sixth, idealistic or moral and religious needs and activities that are concerned in the fixing of standards for the regulation of action within the group; seventh, educational needs and activities which result in teaching the younger generation the means to use in satisfying their wants.

The sociological life of every group, small or large, savage or civilized, may be studied under these heads, and every custom, machine, and institution is a means of satisfying one or more of these needs.

EXERCISES

1. Report on the "social-contract" theory.
2. Give reasons for the view that social development has been and still is, to a large extent, instinctive rather than conscious and intentional.
3. How can people who have a common language coöperate better than those who can communicate with one another only by signs? How may they profit by the experiences of one another?
4. Illustrate that we notice the movements of strangers whom we meet and quickly decide how to act in relation to them.
5. Illustrate the strength of the competitive instinct and of the desire for approval.
6. Show that the social, intellectual, and æsthetic interests are more prominent in man much of the time than the biological instincts by which life is preserved.
7. Show how intelligence makes greater coöperation possible.
8. Give illustrations, from your own community life, of cooperative acts to secure economic, protective, recreational, social, cultural, regulative, or educational ends.
9. Make a list of a dozen or more machines and institutions and state what need or needs they serve.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

Needs, values, and wealth. The science of economics treats of the production, distribution, and use of wealth. From one standpoint it is simply a division of sociology. The strictly economic view, however, is concerned chiefly with the material objects of wealth and efficiency in their production, while sociology is concerned rather with the producers of wealth, their coöperative activities and their welfare. The primary cause of economic activity is the need for food and shelter, but other needs are also satisfied by the production of objects of value. Whatever will satisfy any human need has a value. If it can be exchanged for something else that will satisfy desire, it is wealth, or, in other words, has economic value. If individuals or a group of people gather food and consume it, no wealth is produced, but if one catches fish, another hunts game, a third raises corn, and a fourth makes tools, and they exchange their several products, they have produced wealth.

The earth furnishes the materials for the production of wealth, but in general it does not become such until labor has been expended upon it. Most economic activity is concerned with the transportation of material products, with making changes in the earth by means of which more may be obtained, with the transformation of products into a usable form, or with getting them to consumers.

Economic activity and coöperation. All economic activity is in its very nature coöperative. The effort that one expends in getting directly what will satisfy his desires is not, properly speaking, economic activity. It is only when he expends labor to produce something that can be exchanged for what will satisfy desire that his activity is economic in character. The man who gathers bananas for his own consumption is not engaged in economic activity, but if he gathers more than he wants and exchanges the surplus for fish, meat or grain, tools or clothing, he is so engaged. He and all those that exchange with him are satisfying their desires by indirect means. It is in this respect that civilized human beings differ most from savages and from animals. Activity of this kind is necessarily coöperative because it is utterly impossible for each to satisfy his several desires unless others put forth the effort to produce what he wishes. Hundreds of people who have never seen one another, therefore, continually coöperate in meeting their own and others' needs.

If the man who is raising grain produces an insufficient amount or an inferior quality, others are affected almost as much as if they had failed properly to perform their own part. The sum total of desires that may be satisfied is increased by increased efficiency on the part of any of the workers and is decreased by idleness and inefficiency. Any individual who consumes what others produce and produces little or nothing himself is a burden upon the coöperating group. This is very evident in the case of a small party of explorers who must travel and draw their sledges a certain distance before their food supply is exhausted. If a man is crippled and can no longer help, but continues to eat, he is a burden

upon the party and may bring disaster upon the expedition.

The same principle holds good for the whole civilized world. Idleness or inefficiency on the part of any decreases the total amount of wealth and some are deprived of what they would otherwise have had.

Burdensome classes. In every community and every nation there are many who are not producers. The largest group of these comprise children who are not old enough to labor. Those who are too old to work effectively constitute another class always to be found. In addition there are a large number who are sick or defective and are, therefore, either temporarily or permanently non-workers. To these must be added a great many who are able to work, but who do not care to do so or who are unable to obtain employment. Besides these there are many women who are engaged in home-making, an activity classified in statistics as non-economic.

In every country each producer of wealth has to furnish the means of support not only for himself, but for one or more other persons. With the best possible social adjustments probably less than one half of the total population of any country could be economically active. In this country only a little over one third are producers of wealth. One of the chief problems of practical sociology is that of adding to the number of workers and of increasing the efficiency of those who do work. It is estimated that there are in the United States ten million people who occasionally or regularly receive financial assistance. Besides these, criminals in large numbers must be supported and guarded. Many are a burden upon society because of heredity, others because of sickness or accidents, and others because financial

and social conditions are such that they cannot be profitably employed where they are and no means have been provided for taking them to where employment may be found. Still others are not profitably employed because they have not been trained for the work that would otherwise be open to them.

Economic consumption of wealth. In coöperative economic activity consumption of wealth plays an important part and some ways of consuming wealth are of greater advantage to all the people than others. If a man makes a bonfire of his wheat instead of using it himself or exchanging it for something else, he has destroyed rather than used a certain amount of wealth. He must consume food that some one else has produced in order himself to remain an effective producer, and the world's supply of wheat has been diminished so that some one will have to do with less bread or all will have to give an increased amount of some other product to secure it. If a man consumes more of any form of food than he needs there will be less for others, and he himself is likely to become a less efficient producer because of injury to his health.

If a man spends his money in buying stone and employing workmen to build a monument for himself, he is wasting a portion of the world's wealth because he is putting it into a form that will not be of use to any one else unless it is a genuine work of art. On the other hand, if he puts the same stone into a suitable building it may remain of value to the world and be useful to many generations.

In general that is the most useful consumption of wealth which either embodies it in a form that will continue to be valuable to others, or which makes its

consumers more efficient producers. Any consumption of wealth which transforms it so that it can no longer be used, or that lessens the efficiency of those whose desires are satisfied, is bad, and injures not simply the individual, but all who are coöperating in economic activity.

Uses of wealth that satisfy desire, without either increasing or decreasing the efficiency of the consumer, or interfering with others, may be classed as neither exceptionally bad nor good. It is a matter for the parties concerned individually to decide what desires to satisfy, whether sensory, intellectual, or artistic.

Tools and wealth production. There is very little production of wealth without the use of tools of some kind. Tools are inventions by means of which labor is made more effective, more wealth is produced by the same amount of effort, and many things are done that would be impossible without them. A man could cultivate the ground with his fingers, but if he spends part of his time in constructing an implement for working the ground, or in working for some one else who constructs it, and then uses this implement in raising his crop, he will probably have larger results than if he spent all the time working with his fingers.

The labor expended in the making of tools is an indirect means of producing what will satisfy desire, which is worth while when the tool constructed enables one to accomplish more than would have been possible by direct effort. A tool is a material embodiment of both skill and intelligence on the part of the maker and it may be useful long after his death. The same is true of all implements and machines used in producing wealth. The invention of a useful tool or machine may

enable one man to do the work of ten. This will temporarily throw some of them out of a job and they may think it is a curse rather than a blessing. Considering, however, the whole body of producers, every invention that diminishes the amount of labor required to produce a given amount of wealth is of advantage. Some of this advantage is diminished by the time required to construct the machine and by loss of time of those who are temporarily thrown out of work, but ultimately all may find work of another kind and the total amount of wealth produced will be increased. This will make it possible for the coöperating group of people either to satisfy more desires or decrease the number of hours that they must labor.

Machines and industries. These facts apply equally to tools and machines. A distinction between the two is, however, worth noting. A tool demands strength, skill, and intelligence to use it, while the operator of a machine may require these qualities in only a slight degree, although a great deal of intelligence is needed by the one who constructs it or keeps it in running order. The intelligence of the constructor of the machine makes it possible for it to be run by one of the forces of nature and the movements of its parts are made with such exactness that very fine work is produced by an operator without much intellectual capacity. For example, the modern loom, run by steam and directed by patterns punched in cardboard, weaves intricate designs and the loom tender does little but supply it with material and repair breaks. The power sewing-machine requires no strength to run it and no skill on the part of the operator to direct the movements of the needle, and with suitable attachments no great de-

gree of skill and intelligence is required to manipulate the fabric so as to produce remarkable results in the way of hemming, ruffling, etc. Since the need for intelligence and skill is supplied by a machine, its tender does not need those qualities to the same extent as does the wielder of tools. The old-time shoemaker had considerable intelligence and a good deal of skill in using his tools. Now there are machines for the various processes of shoemaking and a large proportion of those engaged in the industry are simply machine tenders. Each can acquire in a few days all the skill necessary for adjusting the materials to the action of the machines.

In some industries machines have been improved so that they are automatic and adjust for themselves the materials upon which they work. Of these, the modern printing-press which takes a roll of paper and in an hour turns out a hundred thousand copies of folded and counted newspapers is a striking example. Inventive genius is producing machinery more and more automatic, but whether there will ever come a time when hides can be fed into a machine at one end and shoes turned out at the other, is doubtful.

As long as tenders of machines are required, many workmen with little skill and intelligence may be employed. On the other hand, skilled workmen are required to manufacture these machines, to keep them in running order, and to manage machines and workers so that they will produce to their full capacity and so that there will be no loss of time in passing material from one process to another. Many intelligent workers must also be employed in buying material, transporting it, selling the finished product, keeping accounts, etc. On the whole, then, machine production requires less

strength and less variety of skill on the part of some of the workers, but a much higher grade of intelligence on the part of many of those engaged directly or indirectly in producing and distributing the goods.

Machines, capital, and managers. Machines are the result of past effort and they serve more and more as substitutes for present effort. A hundred men working with crude tools may not be able to produce as much as a single man using a machine. At the present time, therefore, wealth is being produced not so much by those who are now working as by the stored-up results of past labor. The first step in starting a manufacturing plant in these days is not to find workers, but to get buildings and machines. This is what gives capital its prominent place in modern industry. The owner of the capital does not necessarily engage in the industry himself. He may lend his money to another person who becomes the manager of the business. This manager must get proper machinery, purchase raw materials, arrange for the efficient working of every machine and man employed, and find a market for the products. To do this a high degree of intelligence is required and many subordinate helpers or heads of departments are needed. This furnishes a marked contrast to former methods of production when tools only were used. Each workman had a comparatively small amount of capital invested in tools and he was his own manager and salesman. Capital played a small part in the production of wealth and varied but not profound intelligence was required.

Institutions and production. In general, machine production is profitable only when a large quantity of goods of the same kind is to be produced. If a single

chair of a certain style is to be made, it will be economical to use tools in constructing it, but if a hundred thousand are required, it will pay to use machinery, and the cost per chair will be only a small part of what it would be if tools were used. Thus, production by machinery inevitably tends to result in large factories. It follows that a large amount of capital is needed and that the business must be carried on for a long period of time. With rare exceptions could a single man furnish the capital and manage the business.

We find, therefore, that to a very large extent institutions in the form of companies or corporations have taken the place of individuals in the production and distribution of wealth. A company is organized, capital is furnished by the various stockholders, and managers are secured. They hire workers, conduct the business, and establish the reputation of the firm. Such an institution, after being well organized, may continue its work in much the same way regardless of the fact that the owners of the capital, the managers, and workmen are changing from year to year. With the development of big business and its conduct by corporations there is a growing tendency, not only for workers to specialize, but for institutions to be developed for special purposes. Banking institutions facilitate the purchase of materials, the payment of workers, and the selling of goods. Advertising agencies take charge of making the goods known to the world, transportation companies bring materials and carry away the products. Insurance agencies guard against loss to goods and to workmen through accidents. In addition to this associations are formed by the managers of manufacturing establishments and trade unions by the workers.

Advertising and standardization of products. The change from tool to machine production immensely complicates the problem of selling goods. Machine production necessarily means that a larger quantity of goods must be produced in one place than can be used in the immediate neighborhood. Hence these goods must be sold to strangers in distant places. The old-time shoemaker made shoes for his immediate neighbors who came personally and bought them. The modern shoemaker makes shoes for people all over the country and perhaps for those in other countries. He can make a pair of shoes for a fraction of the cost to the old-time shoemaker, but after they are made he must spend a good deal of money in making them known to customers and in getting the goods to them and the money in return, or he must sell them to wholesale dealers who, through retail merchants, get them into the hands of customers.

There is always a considerable difference between the cost of manufacturing goods and the price paid by the customer, the latter being often from two to ten times the former. This difference is spent in advertising, selling, and transporting the goods. One of the problems of modern economics is to reduce the cost of getting goods from the manufacturer to the consumer. Except in the case of very heavy goods, transportation is only a small portion of the expense. Millions are spent in making the goods known or advertising, and the rest goes to pay the wholesale and retail merchants or the so-called middlemen.

One of the most promising means of reducing this cost is through the standardization of products. There is very little money spent in advertising sugar, and

although it is a comparatively heavy substance to ship there is only a small difference between the cost of manufacture and the price to consumers. This is due chiefly to the fact that sugar is a known product of standard quality and is in extensive and constant demand. No money need be spent in making it known or urging people to buy; it is not perishable and the amount used is large. Hence dealers can afford to sell it at a small profit. In proportion as goods of any kind come into general use and are standardized as to quality, is the cost to consumers reduced and without any loss to manufacturers or middlemen. In the case of tool-made articles, for the special use of individuals, a standard product is undesirable, but for machine-made products, for use by people who have no chance to inspect the goods before purchasing, standardization is becoming more and more advantageous.

The standard product is much more cheaply produced by the manufacturer and after it has once become well known little advertising is necessary in order to secure regular sales at fixed prices. When sewing-machines were first invented they were costly to manufacture and could be sold only by glib-tongued agents who must be well paid for their efforts. Now the housewife does not need to be instructed regarding the advantages of having a machine, and she probably knows the different kinds and can order one that will exactly meet her needs without seeing it. The manufacturer takes care that each style of machine shall be of a standard quality and he has machinery for making each part by the thousands, so that the cost to him is only a fraction of what it formerly was. A good bicycle can now be purchased for one sixth of the cost of a poor one a quar-

ter of a century ago. At that time manufacturers were bringing out new models every year, and because of that fact they had to do extensive advertising and frequently change the machinery and the processes of manufacture. Now everything is standardized and the consumer gets the benefit with no loss to the manufacturer and to the middleman.

Standardization of product is of advantage not only in manufacturing, but also in agriculture. Flour is comparatively cheap, partly because the different grades of wheat have been carefully standardized. The most marked effects of standardization have probably been produced in raising and selling fruit. There was a time when the growing of oranges in California was a very uncertain business. The man who shipped a carload of oranges might obtain very large profits or they might not sell for enough to pay the freight. Since the organization of fruit exchanges all oranges are carefully graded as to size and quality. They are shipped in such a way that they arrive at their destination in first-class condition and no more go to any one city than can be used there. The consequence is that each well-informed merchant and customer knows exactly what he is buying. The prices are steady and reasonable to the customer as are also the profits to the orange-grower and the merchant.

The lack of standardization has made the production and marketing of milk very unprofitable. In most of the smaller cities and villages milk is delivered to people in the same block by a half-dozen different milkmen and each milkman travels many miles unnecessarily to dispose of his load. If milk were standardized as to quality so that a particular brand of milk should

be always the same, then the cost of getting it to the consumer would be only a fraction of what it now is. Laws prohibiting the sale of milk below a certain standard of richness have not relieved the situation. It is not easy to produce milk of exactly the same richness. It is unprofitable to make it richer than the required standard and dangerous to drop below. In creameries a much better method is used. The richness or amount of butter fat is tested and a corresponding price is paid. It is perhaps well to require by law that milk be produced under conditions that will make it healthful, but to fix just one standard of richness is of doubtful advantage.

Closely associated with the problems of advertising and standardization is the problem of constancy in production. This is most difficult to meet in the case of clothing, especially in millinery, where the styles are continually changing. Manufacturers do not dare to produce many goods until they know what the style is to be. This is unfortunate both for the manufacturer and for the workers. The manufacturer has to make rather expensive changes in his processes when the styles change and usually the workers can be employed only during a portion of the year. This frequently gives them an inadequate income, although the manufacturer may pay fairly high wages. Goods that are not quickly sold are a partial or total loss. The ultimate increased cost of goods produced under such conditions must, of course, be paid by the consumer.

There is another side to advertising and standardization that must not be lost sight of. A standardized product may not be as good as it should be. The more completely a product is standardized the more difficult

it is to induce people to use something new that is really better. It is unfortunate, therefore, for any product to be standardized before a reasonable degree of perfection has been reached. The kind of advertising which makes people familiar with things that are more healthful, economical, and useful than those that they have been using is for the good of society. It is a means of education that has had a profound influence upon people of all classes and upon the efficiency with which every variety of process is carried on.

Machine production and growth of cities. Since machine production is more profitable, the larger the amount produced, thousands of workers are employed in a single factory and must live in more or less close proximity to it. This requires the presence of many selling and transporting agencies and consequently each factory is the nucleus for a large population. Although there were some large cities before the days of machine production, the increase of urban as compared with the rural population, in the United States especially, has been very rapid in the last forty years. This brings into especial prominence the problems of city life.

One that is now receiving most attention is that of city planning, especially the question of proper housing. In the early days of city planning, ideals of beauty were prominent, but now it is recognized that the most important problem of all is so to lay out the streets and mark off the lots that everybody may have sufficient space, and that transportation from one part of the city to another may be ample for all purposes. Streets are costly to maintain and should not therefore be broader than necessary. If buildings are tall the streets must be wider to accommodate the increased population. If

dwelling-houses are only one or two stories in height the city must be spread over a large area, and either the workers must be located near their places of employment or cheap means of transportation must be supplied. In order to be healthful buildings must have sufficient light and air, must not be overcrowded, and must be properly supplied with sewers and water. Unless these necessities are furnished at a reasonable cost, overcrowding is almost inevitable. Careful social studies indicate that the results of this evil are many and serious from the point of view of sociology.

Efficiency of workers. Efficiency in the industries demands not only that the best machines shall be used and shall be run in the most efficient manner, but also that there shall be capable workers kept constantly in good working condition. Manufacturers appreciated the necessity of having the best machines and of keeping them in good running order long before they learned the value of having their workers in good condition. It was formerly thought that it was profitable to the manufacturer to employ men for as small wages as possible and for the greatest number of hours, and to assume no responsibility whatever for their health or their freedom from accidents. It has been proved by some manufacturers that in their business exactly the opposite is true. They have increased wages, decreased hours, put in safety appliances, taken means for proper housing of their help and for keeping them contented and happy, and every one of these changes has resulted in increased production. How far this may profitably be carried and whether it will prove true in all occupations remain to be established.

In addition to these means of promoting efficiency

there are two others receiving a great deal of attention from employers, shop management and vocational education.

Regulation of industries. With the development of big business and the change from individual management to institutional control and with the increase in the number of people affected by each industry and its methods, regulation becomes inevitable. Every institution has its rules that must be followed by all persons connected with it. These rules are chiefly for the advantage of the business. The good of the people generally, however, has made necessary the passing of legislation regarding the management of institutions. For the conduct of many of these, laws have been made which insure that they will be conducted more safely and advantageously than if they were managed according to the best individual judgment. This is especially true of the laws regarding the conduct of banks and insurance companies. Laws regulating railroad and other corporations are also proving very helpful. Much of this regulation of industries is the remote but inevitable result of the production of wealth by means of machinery and progress in learning.

EXERCISES

1. When does water become wealth?
2. Mention various classes of persons and modes of activity that are to the disadvantage of others who belong to the same coöperating group.
3. How are other people affected by slow, irregular, and defective work on the part of several laborers in a manufacturing plant such as a car factory?
4. Look up statistics of the numbers of the defective

classes and of their cost, and of the economic losses due to sickness, accident, and unemployment.

5. Name a half-dozen ways of consuming wealth and show which are the most and which the least profitable modes of using it, and why.
6. Can you supply arguments that will convince a man who has been thrown out of work by a machine, that the machine is a good thing?
7. Compare the difference in skill and intelligence necessary if ten thousand men are employed in carrying freight on their backs or are transporting it by wagons or by motor truck or by steam car, taking into account those engaged in constructing the apparatus and in directing the operation, noting the difference in general intelligence and in specialization of knowledge and skill.
8. On the average in this country, labor receives about three fourths of the value of what is produced and capital one fourth. Mention industries in which there are great variations from these proportions and tell which are most developed.
9. Look up and report regarding the development of some such institution as a corporation, bank, or insurance company, or summarize the advantages and disadvantages of institutions taking the place of individual effort in the same processes.
10. Give a number of examples of the advantages of standardization.
11. When is the cost of advertising a burden upon the people generally, and when is it of advantage to all?
12. State advantages to employer, employees, and consumers of continuous demand for and production of goods in some special line.
13. From the history of some city show how it has grown and how its problems of housing have been brought about through the establishment of one or more factories.
14. Compare the value of a man thirty years old with the

value of a harvesting machine or motor truck that will last for ten years, as a producer of wealth, and show the comparative advantages of keeping both in good working condition and in steady use. Consider both the immediate employer and the general public.

15. Prepare a paper on the conservation of natural resources, then one upon the conservation of human resources, and discuss the relative value of the two.

CHAPTER VI

PROTECTIVE NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

Primitive protective activities. In primitive life protective activity is carried on chiefly in connection with the smallest social group, the family. The father protects against wild beasts and against human enemies within the tribe and without. Protection against the elements is generally provided for the family by its own members. There is very little done for protection against accident, fire or flood, or against disease.

Where a number of families are living together as a more or less distinct tribe or group of people, protection by the larger group becomes necessary. This is most frequently brought about through conflict with other groups. In order to defend themselves against enemies there must be some kind of organized group activity. Natural leaders assume direction of the fighting in time of war. If they are successful, they gain great authority over other members of the group, not only when fighting but at other times. Their supremacy leads to the formation of customs and laws prescribing what different classes may and may not do. Thus is established a more or less distinct permanent government.

In cases where the larger group takes the character of a patriarchal family and there is little fighting with other tribes, the older men exercise protective functions similar to that of the father in a family, and out of this grows a more or less definite form of government administered chiefly by the elders of the tribe.

Customs and laws are established not only through the evident need for them and through the personal influence of leaders, but they are usually emphasized and made more effective by association with superstitious and religious beliefs. It is taught that those who disregard them will suffer more severe punishment from spirits and gods than can be inflicted by man. Leaders, especially of the "shaman" type, use this means of establishing and enforcing customs and laws very effectively. They broaden the sphere of government by prescribing courses of action which are supposed to protect not only against enemies, wild beasts, and accidents, but against disease and injury to property and growing crops. From such conditions ultimately arises the institution of government, exercising protective functions and regulating the conduct of various classes of people.

Development of the institutions of government. Most governments, especially those developing under the influence of war, are at first personal in character. If the group governed comes to be a large one by conquest or otherwise, one man is unable to carry on all the functions of government. He must have helpers who form a secondary governing class. Able men among these subordinates are likely to undertake to wrest the government from the chief. In the rivalry and fighting that follow between such leaders, each seeks the help of the common people and the one who gets the help of the majority, by whatever influences he is able to bring to bear upon them, is likely to succeed in the contest.

The primitive leader usually makes laws that give himself and his friends special privileges and that impose upon the populace burdens and restrictions of va-

rious kinds. When, however, leaders contend with each other and seek the aid of the common people, they find it necessary to secure that aid by promising more favorable laws to them. Thus there is a constant tendency in the direction of making laws for the protection of the common people as well as of those of the higher classes, and as the common people become intelligent they gain a larger and larger share in determining what laws shall be made. This general tendency is very well illustrated by the history of the development of the English constitution. In the contest between king and nobles, the common people, in return for money and service, gained more privileges and more influence in the making of the laws, until, at the present time, although king and nobles remain, the people rule.

This tendency toward democratic government would appear to be inevitable among people of intelligence: the many are stronger than the few and in the course of ages will, in every country, assume control of the government. With the growth of democracy, laws are made to protect the weak as well as the strong.

National government generally grows out of warfare with other nations. As people become more intelligent they develop more effective ways of dealing with other nations, and commerce and diplomacy take the place of warfare. Historically the Romans were among the earliest to develop methods of dealing with surrounding tribes by treaty and contract instead of by warfare. They established definite bounds for each tribe and made regulations regarding the crossing of these boundaries, and thus laid the foundations for international law as they also did for civil law governing the people within the nation.

Where a large number of people are under one government it is impossible for a central authority effectively to control all of them. Local officials with more or less authority must officiate in the various parts of the country. In most countries there exist, therefore, several units of government, the national government, the local government of the small group or community, and usually one or more intermediate units such as the province, county, or state. The national government concerns itself chiefly with all that is necessary to the protection of the nation against other nations and to the maintenance of conditions of prosperity, while the smaller units of government are concerned chiefly with the protection of the person and property of the various classes of individuals within the community.

In considering the development of governments as they now exist, it would not be correct to say, either that national governments are the result of uniting smaller units of government or that the smaller units of government are merely differentiations and divisions in national government. Both kinds of change have taken place, and government as it now exists in any country is the result of a double set of influences, one national, the other, local. The comparative extent of control exercised over the people by the local and by the national units of government varies greatly in different countries. In all, the national government is supreme in all matters concerning war, while under even the most autocratic government the local community has some degree of freedom in controlling the activities of its members.

Internal protection. Protection of people within the group is now usually provided by a unit of government

intermediate between that of the nation and of the local community. In the United States this intermediate unit is the State. In primitive times men defended themselves individually or sometimes by uniting in a group against some strong offender. Many persons, though individually weak, by uniting could thus control the action of the strongest individual who would interfere with their rights. With further development the protecting group became permanent and more or less well-defined methods of procedure were established.

The primitive laws were established customs, or, where new conditions arose, they were the decisions of the leaders of the group or the majority opinion of the whole group, and judgment was rendered and executed either by the community acting as a sort of a mob or by certain recognized leaders who heard the evidence and decided what punishment should be given the offender.

In modern times an advance was made from customs and personal judgment to statute laws and court trials. Definite laws were enacted by the people or proclaimed by the accepted leaders and officials were appointed to apply and execute them. When industries became diversified and large numbers of people lived together, laws prescribing what each person must or must not do increased in number and more definite regulations became necessary regarding the application of laws and their execution. At the present time these regulations are so numerous that experts in the law are necessary, and judges act almost wholly in accordance with the prescribed rules of court procedure instead of exercising their personal judgment regarding each case brought before them. In the effort to prevent miscarriage of justice through the bad judgment, prejudice, and cor-

ruption of individual judges, this system of court procedure has become in this country so cumbersome and complex that only experts can take part in it and individuals are often wronged through the judges applying the law strictly in accordance with court methods.

Many are also beginning to question whether society is really protected by our present methods of dealing with criminals. For the most part there is no natural relation existing between the crime and the punishment inflicted. Imprisonment of some kind is applied to all varieties of criminals. Since the criminal has not controlled his own actions so as not to interfere with other people, it is fitting that he should lose his liberty and that his actions should be directed for a time by society. However, his own good and that of society demand that this forcible control shall be continued no longer than is necessary. The individual should be treated in such a way as to make him capable of controlling himself and he should then be set at liberty. Under the methods that have been in use, criminals have often been rendered less capable of self-control and then have been set at liberty, only to do further damage and to be rearrested. It is claimed that the effect of imprisonment is to confirm criminals in their criminality rather than to cure them and that the brutalizing effects upon keepers of the prisoners are almost equally bad.

Considerable improvements have, however, recently been made. The laws now admit indeterminate sentences and shortened time for good behavior, provide for remunerative and educative employment while in prison and for parole and reinstatement in society.

Development of laws. With the growth of civilization, laws have increased not only in number, but also

in variety. They are now concerned far less with protection against violence and far more with protection against interference with property, health, and comfort. This is inevitably the case because growth of civilization always results in an immense increase in wealth and usually means a much greater density of population and closer relations of people to one another. Acts which, in a sparse population and where there is little property, would cause no injury to any one, may, in a crowded district, seriously endanger the property, life, and health of thousands. So complex is our present-day civilization that, without laws to guide one as regards setting of fires, disposal of garbage, rate of travel, etc., even well-intentioned people may interfere with the rights and pleasures of others.

Under the older conception, a law was a command or decree issued by some one in authority to prevent certain classes or individuals from performing wrong acts or from interfering with other people. Under the more modern conception, laws mark out a mode of procedure which, if followed, will be of advantage to all parties concerned. Under this new view of law we may compare legislation to the making of rules or directions for running a machine or carrying on the work of a shop. A law is a social discovery or invention which prescribes and enforces the kind of action that is most favorable to group welfare.

The construction of a law is much more difficult than the framing of a set of rules for running a machine or a shop or for conducting a scientific experiment, because the law must not only prescribe the right methods of procedure, but it must provide penalties and rewards or advantages which will induce all parties concerned

to act in accordance with its provisions. A law prescribing just what may not be done and imposing very severe penalties may entirely fail, partly because the advantages of disregarding it are very great, and partly because, when the penalties are severe, those concerned in applying and enforcing it may sympathize so strongly with the violator that there will be few arrests, convictions, or punishments. A successful law must be founded upon scientific knowledge and practical experience and must be so adapted to the people and to the conditions that with rare exceptions all will find it best to obey the law and to inflict punishment upon the few who disobey it.

In our modern democratic government we are recognizing more and more that a law framed in the interest of certain classes of individuals can never be of permanent advantage to the group as a whole. We are also recognizing that so far as the ends to be attained are concerned the wishes of the people shall dictate, but that the framing of the law as a means to reaching the desired ends must be the work of experts and that laws must be modified in the light of experience. These principles are being recognized by the extension of the referendum, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the appointment of special commissions to investigate conditions and formulate laws that will bring about the results desired by the people.

Protection against the elements and disease. From earliest times diseases of many sorts have been the deadly foe of men, especially whenever a large number were living close together. The artificial conditions created by man demand special modes of action in order that he may be sheltered from the elements and may

maintain his health in his artificial environment and in close association with others who may be suffering from contagious disease. No matter how wise or careful the individual may be, he cannot insure his own health unless his neighbors are equally wise and careful, and perhaps not even then unless certain rules of procedure are agreed upon and carried out. This is the reason why so many laws of the present day are concerned with housing and health conditions. That man can succeed in maintaining health in close settlements, living under artificial conditions, is demonstrated by the fact that in cities where health regulations are properly carried out the death-rate is already considerably less than in country districts where natural conditions are more favorable, but where less attention is given to the proper regulation of housing and sanitation.

The fact remains, however, that the housing problem and the sanitary and other problems associated with it are most serious ones in all our cities and even in the smaller towns. Small houses, large families, wells, vaults or cesspools, garbage thrown out into the back yards, may not be a serious matter in widely scattered settlements among people who spend most of their time out of doors, but in thickly settled regions, where people spend much of their time indoors, rooms must be open to the sun and must not be overcrowded at night; water must be supplied from distant and pure sources, sewerage and garbage disposal must be managed by coöperative means, and all sources of contagion must be removed or isolated.

The housing problem is so intimately related to every phase of life that it must be regulated by law and by coöperative action in order that not only the poor, but

also the wealthy may be properly protected under the conditions of city life. Every family must be provided with housing that is at least healthful, and the prosperity of the community demands that it shall also be more or less pleasing and agreeable to its occupants and easily accessible to means of livelihood and recreation.

The housing problem is thus associated with every phase of city life and is the most important one to be considered in planning a city and in establishing local rules and regulations. Laws must be made as to the height and locality of buildings of various kinds, their manner of construction with regard to safety from fire, their health conditions as to lighting, heating, ventilating, and plumbing. These laws must be based upon a real knowledge of the effects of housing conditions and must be accompanied by proper public provision for supplying water and for sewage and garbage disposal. In a thickly settled region it would be utterly impossible for each individual to make these provisions for himself. The facilities must be provided by coöperative means and the use of them regulated by law.

Since under such conditions very little if any food can be produced, it is necessary that regulations shall be made regarding the character of the food brought into the city and supplied to the people. Each individual may not be allowed to buy and sell as he chooses, for the consumer of milk infected with typhoid germs may in turn infect other people who exercise the greatest care in their choice of food.

Protection against accidents. Man has always been subject to injury by the unusual action of the forces of nature, such as fire and flood, and through accidents by falls and otherwise. Primitive men had no means of

guarding against such injuries, except by means of charms, and when accidents did occur they did little that was effective in promoting a cure. In modern times, by coöperative action, floods may be stayed, precautions are taken against fires, and many things are done to minimize accidents. When fires do break out there are in all large cities more or less efficient fire departments for extinguishing them.

In America much greater progress has been made in the means of fighting fires than in ways of preventing them. In Europe the materials used and the building regulations enforced render fires comparatively rare and the need of efficient fire departments much less great. When fire loss does occur we have, through insurance companies, a very sure and effective means of distributing the loss so that it does not fall heavily upon any one person. This does not, however, prevent the loss by fire from being a genuine and often extensive economic loss to the community and to the nation as a whole.

The possibility of injury through accidents has greatly increased with the dense population, the extensive use of machinery and of rapidly moving vehicles of many kinds. Accidents are common, although they have recently been diminished by traffic regulations, traffic officials, and by safety devices. In the industries and in transportation the chances for accidents are still so numerous that in the United States the number of persons killed and injured by accidents has amounted to over two hundred thousand in a single year.

In recent years a great deal has been done toward decreasing the number of accidents, by laws making the employer responsible for damages, by the invention and

use of safety devices, and by the avoidance of unfavorable conditions, such as fatigue and drunkenness, under which accidents most frequently occur. The destruction of human life and of human efficiency is also rendered less disastrous to the individual family through accident and life insurance, either voluntary or enforced by the state.

When accidents do occur there are very efficient means provided for caring for the injured, in the form of apparatus for first aid to the injured, ambulances, and well-equipped hospitals. Within the last quarter of a century there has been an almost complete change from the guarding against and treatment of accidents by individuals to a more effective control of such matters by institutions and laws.

Protection of the weak. Long after the common people were given comparatively equal rights under the law and a voice in the making of laws, the weak and helpless members of society were left to perish or to be cared for or abused by individuals. Only within the last century have they been extensively protected and cared for by institutions. At first these institutions were private organizations, one for the insane, another for the poor, others for the blind, deaf, crippled, diseased, aged, etc., but in recent years such persons have not only been protected by the laws of the state, but they are now in most places partially or wholly cared for at the expense of the state or of the local community, unless their friends provide for them.

In the case of the poor we are still in a transition stage. In nearly all communities the poor are helped by private individuals, charitable societies, and by the state, county, town, or city. In most places individual

help has been replaced by institutional relief with advantage to the community. The relief of poverty may do more harm than good if the individual receiving help becomes a permanent pauper. This is more likely to occur when the relief is received from private individuals who are not personally acquainted with the ones receiving charity than it is when the matter is handled by trained charity officials who investigate the case, find out exactly what the conditions are, and what relief, if any, is being received from other sources.

So effective has been the work of some of the charitable organizations that public funds have been turned over to them instead of being expended through regularly appointed poor officers. Whether this will prove to be a good solution of the problem is doubtful. In proportion as the private institutions are supported by public funds instead of by philanthropic gifts, there is something of a tendency for the officials of the societies to lose the personal enthusiasm and interest that have distinguished them from the city, town, or county officials administering poor relief. In order that relief may be given without destroying self-respect and producing permanent pauperism, it must be given under the law as a right, or it must be given by those who have sympathetically studied the case and who supply it temporarily in a form that helps the individual to reinstate himself as a self-supporting member of society.

The latest and apparently most promising means of giving relief for widows and children, without destroying self-respect, is in the form of mothers' pensions, a certain amount being paid to the mother for caring for her children instead of supporting them in an institution.

Another attempted solution, especially as regards poverty due to old age, is to provide compulsory insurance and old-age pensions.

A very great advance has been made in recent years in the public protection of children. Formerly they were entirely under the control of their parents or other guardians and were subject to kindness or overwork and abuse according to the nature of the persons who had them in charge. Now their rights are strictly guarded even against parents, from whose control they may be taken if abused or neglected. They are not permitted to work until of a suitable age, or to work at night or for more than a certain number of hours per day, in most of the states in this country. They are provided with educational opportunities, and, if they have no parents, are cared for by private societies regulated by law or in state institutions. This is true not only of normal children, but also of the feeble-minded, deaf, and crippled.

In taking over this control of children by the state it has been found that strictly institutional management is not very successful. The best institutions, in caring for these children, imitate the home as far as possible by putting them in small cottages instead of in large buildings. Even this is not generally as good for normal children as placing them in carefully selected private homes where they have the advantages of real family life, although it is an adopted family.

Protection, prevention, and control by government. As we have already seen, the protective activities of government have become more and more necessary as civilization, specialization, and density of population increase. Men of intelligence have been brought to realize

more and more that the most effective form of protection is that of prevention. This has extended the law beyond what is primarily protective in character. This is especially true when protection is supplied in an entirely indirect way, as, for example, when the people of a city are protected against the depredations of a gang of boys by establishing schools and playgrounds to occupy the time and energy of boys, or when crime is diminished by furnishing working people with opportunities for wholesome recreation.

Such considerations and practices have led to an entire change of opinion as to the proper functions of government. The idea that government, national, state, and local, should be administered for the welfare and happiness of all the people is rapidly gaining ground and being embodied in the laws of our country. It is being found that an increasing number of the activities of life can be carried on more economically and efficiently by institutions under state regulations than by individuals.

At the present time it is generally accepted that many activities should be conducted either by institutions acting under the laws of the state or by the state itself. Railways, banks, insurance companies, and other institutions are now regulated by law in a way undreamed of a generation ago, and there is a growing tendency for the local, state, or national government to carry on these activities instead of merely regulating the institutions that are now directing them. Many cities now control not only their sewerage and water systems, but also their lighting system, and a good deal is being done to control transportation and the markets. The national government is not only providing in-

creased postal facilities, but through its various departments is furnishing useful information regarding a variety of occupations, including that of home-making.

A few cities have already established boards of public welfare to supplement the work of other departments of the city and to assist in all means that are being used to increase the efficiency, pleasure, and culture of the people.

EXERCISES

1. Give examples of customs supported by law and by superstitious or religious beliefs.
2. Discuss class legislation, ancient and modern.
3. Trace the growth of democracy in some country.
4. Describe the scope and prominence of control, local, county, state, and national, in various phases of protection and regulation of people in your section of the country, as regarding health, fire, property, persons.
5. Describe and compare the procedure of regular courts and of special courts that are less subject to rules of court procedure, such as juvenile courts, courts of domestic relations, small-debtors' courts, etc.
6. Report on the subject of prison reform.
7. Examine new legislation with a view to seeing how the character of laws is changing.
8. Describe the working of one or more successful and one or more unsuccessful laws and point out the reasons for success or failure.
9. Mention health regulations that are required of a city dweller and not of country dwellers.
10. Make special studies of various phases of housing problems and the part that legislation has in solving them.
11. Mention a number of laws concerned with protection against fires and accidents.
12. Study some of the laws for protection of the weak, such

as the blind, insane, etc., and especially those for the protection of children.

13. Discuss the working of the new laws for giving home relief, especially mothers' pensions for care of children, also old-age pensions.
14. Describe movements for protection by prevention and especially by education.
15. Report upon the work of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City and discuss the desirability of such boards in all communities.

CHAPTER VII

RECREATIVE NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

The play instinct. Man in common with the higher animals manifests the instinct of play. The broadest view of this subject considers as playful all activities beyond those necessary to maintain life. In other words, play is the manifestation and the enjoyment of life after the means of living have been obtained. All the fine arts and all knowledge that is not immediately useful in making a living are in a sense the products of play activity.

Surplus energy and time are necessary if play is to be a prominent feature of life. This is one reason why the young of all creatures are most playful. Variety in climatic and other stimuli are also favorable to play activity. The lack of this results in less play on the part of inhabitants of torrid regions, while lack of time and energy beyond that necessary to maintain life limits the play of dwellers in frigid zones.

Play is instinctive and it takes characteristic forms related to other instinctive acts. Young animals play at feeding, fighting, and fearing, and are thus prepared for the serious life that is to follow. Children do the same, and in addition playfully imitate all the acts of their elders, and are thus prepared for the work they will have to do later.

Man, with an active mind as well as an active body, naturally has a tendency to greater variety of play activity than other animals manifest. Play of the im-

agination and of the intellect, which is so prominent a feature of human life, is almost if not quite impossible to any of the other animals. This is partly the reason also why man has a keen sense of humor while other animals have little or none.

Play and recreation in relation to work. Play may be regarded as the most important and active form of recreation, while rest, change in surroundings, and amusement are comparatively passive forms of recreation. Sleep is recreative, but has in it no element of play. People who do not work have little need for recreative play. Those who have a variety of work in moderation also have comparatively less need for play, while those who engage in excessive labor for long periods of time feel more the need of sleep and rest. The person who engages in one kind of labor for a moderate period of time feels the most need for recreative change. Play supplies this far more effectually than rest. Other activities of body and mind need to be excited in order that physical and mental balance may be restored. If general as well as special fatigue has been produced by prolonged activity, amusement and rest may be more recreative, but if the fatigue is special, play calling into action other powers is most advantageous.

In earlier times play grew directly out of work activity. People engaged in agriculture usually had periods of play at the close of the harvest and frequently also at planting time. They also had playful competitions to determine who could perform certain kinds of labor most quickly. Hunters, after a successful expedition, frequently engaged in feasting, dancing, and other playful exercises. Warlike people, after a successful raid,

celebrate their victories by dancing and play. Important events of life, such as marriages, births, or even deaths, are often celebrated by playful activities. Play and work are thus closely related, one preparing for the other by the contrast between them, and yet play often having its character determined by the preceding or accompanying work activity.

Increase in recreative needs and activities. Civilized man is a worker to a far greater extent than his primitive ancestor, and for the reasons given above engages in more extensive and varied recreative activities. This is especially true since the change in industries brought about by the invention of machinery and the consequent extreme specialization of labor. Doing the same thing over and over for hours at a time makes some form of recreation absolutely necessary. Increased production through the use of machinery and the fatigue resulting from continued use of the same powers have brought about shorter hours of labor, so that now all workers have some time for recreation in addition to what is needed for work and rest.

The need for special provision for play and amusement is rendered still greater by the fact that there is little or no possibility of directly associating play and work in our specialized industries and by the fact that children and young people, who are naturally most active, now have little varied work to do, but must spend most of their time in study (which is their work) or in playing and being amused. The question of plays and amusements for all the people, and especially for young people, has, therefore, become an important sociological problem. The fact that on holidays large numbers are arrested for disturbance of the peace shows that many

persons have not learned how to use their leisure time in recreative ways.

History shows also that the kind of amusements in which the people of any nation engage has very important effects upon their further moral and social development. If his amusement dissipates energy and demoralizes the individual instead of recreating and inspiring him to fresh effort, the results are inevitably injurious.

The need of special provision for recreation is also increased by the fact that large numbers live in close proximity and the space for play activities is limited. Since also the specialized work in which people are engaged does not furnish materials or activities that can be used for purposes of play and amusement, the substitution of games and play apparatus and the devising of special amusements are necessary.

Development of games and amusements. With the specialization and regulation of work activity there has also come about specialization and regulation of plays and amusements. Spontaneous dancing and plays of all kinds have largely given place to games that must be carried on according to more or less strictly defined rules and that in many cases involve the use of special apparatus. The most popular games of to-day, such as baseball, basketball, football, tennis, and golf, all require special apparatus and suitable spaces. The sports of hunting, fishing, etc., can now be engaged in only by special arrangements and usually in accordance with definite rules and laws as to seasons and means used.

The development of artificial amusement facilities has been even more marked. The dancing, singing, story-telling, and dramatic exhibitions engaged in by

the members of each community have been replaced by the work of a few specially trained professionals who furnish the amusement and entertainment for the great mass of the people.

Machinery has also entered the field and is now an essential element in amusement parks and moving-picture shows. The moving-picture business now ranks as the sixth largest in the country. No industries have grown more rapidly in the last fifty years than those concerned in supplying amusement and recreation for the people. Probably one fourth of all economic activity has for its end the entertainment of the people.

Commercialized and institutionalized recreations. In the cities and to some extent also in the country comparatively little recreation is now obtained except through the expenditure of money. Furnishing amusement and providing facilities for it have become distinct vocations, and people buy their entertainment as they do food. Institutions have also taken a prominent place in supplying means of recreation. Theaters and pleasure resorts are in the hands of corporations and syndicates rather than of individuals. Clubs of all sorts provide opportunities for amusement and recreation for their members and sometimes to outsiders, either with or without the payment of a fee. It is almost impossible for a person to obtain the use of facilities for games except through an institution of some kind, and frequently a membership in the organization is necessary in order that one may have companions in play. Men must now obtain their recreations as well as their necessities by indirect means and through the help of institutions.

Another important change has also taken place as the

result of the changes just specified. Recreation is now specialized to a much greater extent than ever before. There are still some recreations that appeal to old and young of all classes, but a large proportion, especially those of an active rather than a passive character, are specialized for adults of different classes and for children of different ages. To a less extent than formerly, therefore, do men, women, and children of all classes take their recreations together, especially when these recreations take the form of play.

Control of recreations. So long as recreations of the home and community were carried on without the help of professionals or institutions, there was less occasion for any regulation of them. Under present conditions of commercial and institutional control of amusements among crowded populations, such regulation is absolutely necessary. It was not needed so much when private institutions or clubs had their own regulations for their members and when some philanthropic organizations provided means of recreation for the general public, but when the furnishing of opportunities for recreation became a matter of business the interest of the public demanded that there should be regulation. In most communities a license must be obtained by commercial institutions furnishing recreation, and the character of the amusement, and the conditions under which it is given, and the age of children who may be admitted are determined by law.

In addition to this there has developed within the last few years a tendency not only to regulate amusements by law, but to furnish facilities for them at public expense, and in some instances also to have the entertainments managed by public officials or employees.

This movement has had its most extensive development in the establishment of playgrounds and parks often provided with apparatus and with some one to supervise the play. In a few places municipal theaters have been established. Public buildings, especially school-houses, are now being opened for recreative purposes.

In most cases as yet, the entertainments are provided by societies already existing or organized for the purpose by the people of the community. Some entertainments, such as band concerts, are now often given at public expense, and it may be that in time not only the facilities for recreation will be furnished at public expense, but that as a matter of course entertainments will be provided and the plays supervised by public officials. It may be questioned, however, whether it will not in most cases be best for the community to limit its activities to the regulation of recreation and to providing facilities, leaving it to the initiative of the people to devise and direct entertainments and sports individually and through special organizations. It may also be well to give children opportunities for spontaneous and unsupervised play.

EXERCISES

1. Describe the plays of animals and of young children and show how they prepare for the work of life.
2. Describe mental plays, some of which result in artistic products.
3. Describe the recreations suited to various types of workers.
4. Discuss the need of public provision for recreation now as compared with former times.

5. Have each student report on the extent to which play and amusement in his home community are institutional.
6. Discuss the question of how far public support, administration, and regulation of play and amusement should extend in various lines and what should be left to individuals, families, or societies.

CHAPTER VIII

CULTURAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

Relation of culture to play and work. The human mind is naturally active beyond the point necessary to the maintenance of life. Intellectual impulses or instincts, such as curiosity and the æsthetic instinct, impel men to be mentally and physically active in many ways not necessary to bodily existence. The basis of cultural needs and activities is, therefore, much the same as that of many forms of play.

Culture is, however, closely related to work. Men have the instinct to collect, to construct, and to decorate the things with which they work. The warrior whose serious business in life is fighting may spend much leisure time in collecting and decorating war material, in composing war songs, practicing war dances, or in composing stories, more or less imaginary, relating to war. Thinkers and poets among those who plant and reap may devote their leisure to constructing myths regarding the origin of grains and fruits.

Superstitious and religious beliefs, as well as practical necessities, are also important sources of art and literature. Curiosity is primarily concerned with things that may be useful or injurious, but if there is a surplus of time and energy it is likely to be directed toward other things, and thus is developed a knowledge of various objects, relations, and causes.

Such activity of the mind is in a way playful, as is also the production of works of art, but the interest is

more prolonged than in mere play and the results are enjoyable after the activity of production has ceased. In this respect cultural activity differs from and yet combines some of the characteristics of both play and work. It may be regarded as the most valuable form of play or the most enjoyable kind of work.

The enjoyment of the cultural products of others is a form of recreation similar to that of amusement. The mind is then engaged in appreciating the more strenuous yet partly playful activity of the artist and thinker.

Hard conditions of life are unfavorable to the development of culture, but prosperous people with leisure time almost surely become active in its appreciation and production unless they become dissipated and degenerate. Sometimes culture is enjoyed and produced by one class of persons at the expense of another, as was notably the case in ancient Greece. Her slaves provided the mean of subsistence for the citizens, who devoted most of their time to the culture of mind and body.

Social character of culture. Cultural activity is in general social and more or less coöperative in character. Language, which represents in a large measure various forms of culture, is entirely social in origin. It developed partly as a means of rendering coöperative effort more effective and partly because of the impulse to express feelings and emotions. Dancing, music, story-telling, painting, and modeling are carried on largely because of the appreciation of others, and without such appreciation there would be very little cultural activity.

Nature is not as strong a stimulus to such activity as people. Their personality and deeds in war, love, and religion have called forth most of the world's artistic and literary activity. So prominent are human be-

ings as stimuli to cultural activity that in primitive times nature had little part in literature except in so far as the forces of nature were personified and humanized as spirits or gods similar to human beings. Intellectual, scientific, and poetic interest in nature was late in developing. It is only within the last century that culture in the form of scientific knowledge of nature has had a rapid development.

As previously stated, the appreciation and development of culture are largely coöperative in character. An individual separated from his kind would never acquire a language or produce any works of art. Every writer, artist, and scientist must use the products of his predecessors. He cannot devise anything entirely new, but can only make new arrangements and slight additions to what has already been produced. Every individual, when thinking and constructing, is coöperating with thousand of thinkers and artists of the past and the present and perhaps with many that are to follow. Even the appreciation of cultural products is largely coöperative. The enjoyment of music, literature, and art is greatly increased by the presence of others who are evincing their pleasure.

Transmission, exchange, and fusion of culture. Culture is transmitted to others partly through the medium of teaching and intercourse and partly through the material products of culture, such as books, works of art, and architecture.

Language is one of the most important means of transmitting culture. Through language one may acquire a knowledge of the actions of persons and of the characteristics of objects that he has no opportunity to observe and which are perhaps distant in both time and

space. Through this medium the mental, and consequently the cultural, environment of a people is immensely enlarged. By means of language, much of the cultural activity of preceding ages is made a part of the cultural life of to-day. It is also one of the most important means for the exchange of culture among different groups of people. Especially is this true in modern times when there is much communication and a great deal of translation. The development of a world language would still further facilitate this interchange.

In more primitive times this exchange was brought about largely through the observation of the customs of other tribes and the imitation of useful and artistic objects. Groups of people that were at war with each other interchanged to a less extent than those that engaged in friendly trade. The same utensils, customs, and stories are found in many parts of the world, even among savage tribes. To determine whether this is due to separate invention, to exchange through contact of group with group, or was brought about through the medium of travelers has been an important problem in scientific investigation.

Notwithstanding this interchange among different groups of people, each group that has existed for a number of generations has a culture that is distinctive in character. Experts are able to tell by what people and when a specimen of art or literature was produced. This shows that the actions and objects of the immediate surroundings have the most important effect upon the appreciation and production of cultural material in any group of people.

Culture and culture material are never equally distributed among all classes of the same group, but are

distinctive for each class. The general tendency in recent times, however, toward the development of democracy has greatly increased the diffusion of all sorts of culture among all classes of people.

Invention and culture. Inventive activity is more or less cultural in character, especially when it contributes to the pleasures of life rather than to actual necessities. One of the chief values of inventions and discoveries is in facilitating cultural activity and in promoting the diffusion of culture. The invention of printing and the later development of the printing-press have had a most profound influence in these directions. Inventions of methods of manufacturing and reproducing works of art have also greatly increased the diffusion of artistic products among the people. In many of the humblest homes in all civilized countries are to be found books and pictures, equal to those found in palaces centuries ago.

This is made possible not only by new methods and machinery, but by the invention and organization of means of transportation and communication. Through the telephone and the telegraph, aided by the news organizations, the printing-press, and the railways, every one is now informed of the actions not only of his immediate neighbors, but of people in distant places and foreign countries. He is thus made more or less familiar with the art, literature, customs, and laws of other people than those with whom he is immediately associated.

Facilities for travel also enable even the moderately well-to-do to observe the cultural activities and products of people in other places and countries. Next to the newspaper, no invention provides greater facilities for the diffusion of culture than the moving-picture films.

Institutions and culture. The growth of industrial institutions is paralleled by the development of those concerned with culture in its various forms. Not only are there scientific, literary, and artistic associations in great numbers whose object is the promotion of cultural activity, but most civilized governments have taken a prominent part in such work. Institutions are especially prominent in the diffusion of culture among all classes of people. Museums, libraries, theatres, book- and picture-publishing establishments, and newspapers, nearly all institutional in character, are active in the dissemination of culture and cultural products. In addition to these institutions, which are concerned primarily with the adult population, there is a great network of institutions and schools, the special function of which is to transmit culture to the younger generation. We see, then, that institutions, which are themselves important products of culture, have now become the most effective means of giving cultural training to young people and spreading it among all classes.

Culture and life. The intellectual and æsthetic needs of man are almost as imperative as are the physical. Many men prefer to go hungry rather than miss an intellectual or an artistic treat. Even among the humblest people are found those who ornament themselves, their homes, and their yards, and are interested in music, literature, and the drama. It may even be said that the struggle among human beings at the present time is not so much for the necessities of life as for cultural materials and opportunities. Men accumulate wealth, not that they may be better fed or more comfortably protected against the weather, but that they may have a variety of food served on beautiful dishes

in an artistically furnished house surrounded by handsome grounds, and that they may have clothing that is fashionable or pleasing to their tastes. Men work also in order that they may have facilities and opportunities for reading, seeing works of art, listening to music, observing dramatic performances, and learning of the progress of science and industry. A large part of the life of civilized man is concerned with the enjoyment and production of objects of culture and in struggling to get the opportunities for such enjoyment. It is culture that makes life permanently worth while after the means of subsistence have been obtained. It must be recognized, however, that culture is an important means of social enjoyment and of obtaining distinction, hence it is sought for other reasons than for individual enjoyment.

EXERCISES

1. Enumerate various products of cultural activity that are appreciated mentally, but are in no way necessary to physical life.
2. Is more attention usually given to culture in old or new countries? Why?
3. Discuss the relative prominence of nature and people in stimulating natural production and cultural appreciation.
4. Classify the various forms of culture as to the degree of coöperation they require.
5. In visiting a museum or an art gallery can you tell what nation produced the things in each room without looking at the labels, or in what age they were produced? Why are the peculiarities more distinctive in some cases than in others?
6. Study the development of some tool, machine, language, system of music, or type of literature.

7. What countries have most influenced the culture of the United States? Why?
8. Enumerate the cultural objects in some home and note how many of them are there because of modern inventions.
9. Discuss which have had the most influence upon the culture of the people of the United States, travelers who have visited other countries, or visitors and immigrants from other countries? Why?
10. Which are playing the larger part in giving us the culture of other peoples, words or pictures?
11. Report upon the development of some cultural institutions, such as libraries, moving pictures, museums, newspapers.
12. Discuss cultural desires as stimuli to wealth-getting as compared with nutritive needs as such stimuli.
13. Study statistics and estimate what proportion of the wealth produced each year is to satisfy cultural needs.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

Strength of social needs. Man has so long lived in companionship with others that his nature demands social intercourse. He cannot be satisfied without being with other persons and sharing his mental life with them. Even art and literature lose their charm without some one with whom to enjoy them and religion gains added power when one joins with others in its rites.

Social intercourse is not primarily a distinct form of activity, but is an incidental though very important factor in all work and play. The desire for social companionship leads to the forming of homes and to community life. One of the first questions asked in seeking a new location is regarding the people with whom one will associate. The same is true in entering various vocations and forming connections with institutions of all sorts.

Human beings form the principal stimulus to effort and to ambitions. The desire to be treated in certain ways and to be looked upon with approval by certain classes of people mingles with every end toward which human beings strive and probably furnishes the strongest motive to action.

Social activities always imply a certain amount of likemindedness in those who associate, but social intercourse is the most satisfactory and stimulating when there are also differences in the persons associating.

Under ordinary conditions each individual has more

or less association with those older, those younger, and those of his own age, of his own and of the opposite sex. Some of this association is naturally and normally as a member of a group in which all these classes of persons are represented.

Specialization of social intercourse. Under more primitive conditions this association of all classes and ages was more prominent in the family and in the community than it is to-day. The members of the family were together much of the time and to a greater or less extent played and worked together. In the community also each individual was generally well acquainted with others of the community, both old and young.

Formerly people who lived near each other often exchanged products and labor, borrowed, brought things from the market for each other, and helped neighbors in cases of festivity, sickness, or death. Now necessaries are bought of dealers and delivered by them, the nearness of the market makes borrowing unnecessary, and in cases of need, specialists, such as caterers, doctors, nurses, and undertakers are hired, and neighbors can do little or nothing. In this way the natural means of establishing social relations with those around one are diminished. In addition to this, one cannot possibly know all the people in a city, or even in one's own neighborhood, and though the desire for social intercourse is still as strong as ever, it is satisfied by intercourse not with persons in one's own locality, but with persons that one meets in his work and recreations and with those who are members of the same organizations to which he belongs.

Specialization in the industrial and other activities,

resulting from the invention of machinery has also greatly changed social conditions. The different members of the family are together much less than formerly. They have fewer common interests and in many instances rarely or never do the same thing together. The father goes early in the morning to his work, of the nature of which his children know little or nothing, while they join a group of children of their own age who are often entirely unknown to the parents. Frequently the father and mother know as little of what their children are doing in the school as the children do of their parents' work. In a large proportion of cases there is not more than one meal a day eaten in common by the whole family, and sometimes not even that. In the leisure time of the evening each member of the family finds amusement by himself or in company with others of his own age. Under such conditions the social activities of the family are very limited compared with what they once were.

In more primitive times, as in the smaller communities to-day, all the social relations incidental to work and play and to public and to many private affairs were with the same group of people. In modern city life each kind of incidental, social relationship is largely with a different class of persons: the people whom one meets in connection with his work are not likely to be the same as those he meets in church, in his lodge, or at places of amusement. Each group of persons is known in only one aspect of the lives of those comprising it, and each calls for a different phase of one's social nature.

Along with this specialization of social intercourse there has been a great broadening of the field of one's social relations and a change in the means by which

each knows and to some extent shares the life of others. Formerly the chief means of knowing others and their affairs was by casual meetings and by hearsay. Now we know a much larger number of people through the medium of the newspaper. This performs the function of the village gossip not only in the local community, but in the state and nation. Through its medium the actions of prominent people are made familiar to every one, and public sentiment, corresponding to community sentiment, is given expression.

In the cities conditions have also changed in community life. The persons who live near each other are engaged in a variety of work, or if in the same occupation do not necessarily carry it on in association with the others. People may inhabit the same block for years and never exchange a word or learn one another's names.

This decrease in natural, incidental, social intercourse has not diminished the need or desire for such intercourse so much as it has changed its form. It has brought about a great deal more association between those of the same age. The children of different ages and the parents have each associates of their own class.

It has also led to the formation of many societies for social purposes or for the pursuit of a common interest, such as bird study, civics, art, or music, and to a great increase in the social activities of other societies. In general these societies, however, do not very frequently bring together men, women, and children, but provide only for special groups of each. So numerous have these societies, lodges, and clubs become that many persons spend very little even of their leisure time at home. In this way social life is very completely specialized. Any one who moves into a city now finds it almost impos-

sible to become acquainted except through some institution, such as a church, a club, or a lodge, or some cultural, recreational, or civic society.

Institutions and social life. In most communities, rural as well as village and city, there is frequently nothing of sufficient interest to bring about a community feeling or common action. Special classes of people are interested in special institutions, sometimes in a good many of them, but there is usually less community interest than there is of state or national patriotism and interest. State and national elections, with the public questions involved and the interests at stake, have generally been much more prominent than local civic affairs. Recently, however, societies have been formed and a great deal of work has been done by various individuals and organizations to improve the community and to develop local civic pride. These have a good deal of influence, especially when a large number of persons are induced to help in doing something for the community, such as cleaning it up, beautifying it, or developing a recreation center.

Experience shows that gatherings and societies for the sole purpose of social intercourse are not successful. Something which all may do in common is necessary to make the community sufficiently likeminded and to bring out interesting and effective social reactions of one to another. Some common act, such as playing, working, or eating, is necessary unless there is some definite purpose to be accomplished by discussion and the planning of united effort. It may be said that one of the most important things accomplished by all sorts of organizations is the acquaintanceship and social activity that incidentally result, but that any society that

attempts to make social activity the only or the chief aim is likely to fail of its purpose.

Under present conditions it seems that the incidental social activity of home, community, and business is far less complete and varied than is demanded by the good of the individual and of the community. The numerous clubs of to-day are not the cause but the result of these conditions. The remedy lies not in condemning these clubs as destructive of family life, but in improving them, eliminating those which give the least valuable forms of social intercourse and forming more of the kind that brings together all members of a community and promotes unity of action and interest.

Social classes. Specialization in work and in play and amusements, together with institutional development, makes specialization in social intercourse inevitable. In so far as successive generations follow similar occupations and keep the same financial and educational standing, the inevitable result is the development of distinct and permanent social classes, each of which has no social intercourse with the others. This is a condition directly opposed to democracy. Even an employer capitalist who has risen from the ranks soon loses social touch with the laboring classes and loses the power to look at things from their point of view. Much more is a descendant of generations of capitalists differentiated from a descendant of generations of laborers. Much of the friction between employer and employees is due to these facts, and one of the best remedies is being found in the meeting of representatives of both classes, where they can talk freely, get acquainted with one another and learn to appreciate the different points of view presented. Similar meetings of educated and uneducated

and of rich and poor, in which all are on an equality as regards the question at issue, are of the greatest value in a democracy. The public schools are doing much to promote democracy in the young and to develop in their parents common interests. They are, therefore, the most promising social centers of to-day.

Social rules. Whenever people associate, customs and institutions with rules are soon developed as guides for the individual in his social intercourse with others. The existence of distinct classes of persons favors this tendency. A large part of oriental education consists of training in the proper ways of acting toward the various classes. In Japan such action is developed into a fine art, and the grace with which a Japanese lady performs the social act of serving tea has been attained by at least a year of special training to prepare her for that important function.

Among western nations, especially as they become more democratic, there is less occasion for elaborate rules of social intercourse between people, since all are of the same rank. The time-honored distinctions between men and women and between youth and age tend also to disappear. There still remain the ordinary conventions as to dress and conduct, but the finer courtesies of life lack support; consequently Americans are far less polite than are the people of aristocratic and oriental countries.

In place of rules of action for distinct social classes are developed certain common rules for all, such as taking one's turn in line, and special rules followed in different sorts of institutions and assemblies. Just as in older society what is fitting in conduct toward one class of persons may not be permitted toward another,

so the courtesies of a baseball fan are not permissible when he is in a church, or those of a bather at the beach when in a drawing-room or in a public library.

A large part of the regulation of social intercourse in America is through the institutions or societies with which one is connected. Under the influence of each institution we regulate our actions in relation to others according to the rules and established customs of that institution. The fine art of social intercourse now consists not so much in behavior toward persons of a certain class as of doing what is fitting between equals who are members or officers of certain institutions or engaged in a special form of activity. Whether this kind of social regulation can ever reach as high a state of development as the older remains to be seen. Already, to be a good loser in athletics is an obligation more strongly enforced than that of making a polite bow, and it is probably more necessary where majorities must rule.

EXERCISES

1. If one had no association with people, either directly or through the medium of language, could he maintain a mental life above that of animals?
2. To what extent are cultural products purchased for one's own pleasure and to what extent for securing social standing and approval?
3. Discuss the part that likeness and difference in race, class, age, sex, education, and temperament play in the social intercourse of nations, classes, and individuals.
4. Each student should report as to the acquaintances of different members of the family so as to show to what extent they are associated with different groups of people.
5. Report as to the part proximity of residence and being

connected with institutions has had in promoting acquaintance. This may be done by making a list of say fifty acquaintances and stating the medium through which the acquaintance was chiefly promoted.

6. What are the chief influences in this country that are developing social classes and what are promoting acquaintance between classes? Compare various organizations as to their influence in this respect.
7. Discuss the part that division into classes has upon the prominence of social conventions in the life of any people, comparing such countries as India, England, and the United States.

CHAPTER X

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES

Relation of morals, religion, and custom. Moral and religious needs are inherent in the social nature of man and are closely related to each other. They depend upon the fact that men feel the need of controlling and regulating their action by some influence outside of themselves. In the case of moral action this influence is supplied by the conduct and ideas of the other members of the group, or if they are not present, by memories of how they have acted under similar circumstances.

In the case of religion, it is the idea that the spirit of some ancestor or a power of nature or a deity approves or disapproves of certain kinds of conduct. These two influences frequently combine, the conduct being regulated and the customs of the group being enforced more effectively by belief in the spirits or gods than by the mere example and opinion of persons. On the other hand, faith in the spirits or gods is derived from the example and opinions of the group to which one belongs, since the ideas and customs regulating the conduct of individuals are generally impressed upon the younger members of the group by older persons and by leaders. The longer any given custom has prevailed and the more it is supported by leaders living and dead and by religious beliefs, the stronger will be its controlling and regulating influence. Warrior leaders and medicine men have had much to do with shaping the moral and religious practices of every group of people.

In the regulation of conduct, both economic and moral, there is always a peculiar mingling of more or less conscious wisdom as to what is the most useful form of action for the group and superstitious and religious beliefs and ceremonies handed down by custom and tradition. This is shown in all phases of both work and play and in the conduct of both savage and civilized peoples. In hunting, in cultivating the soil, in caring for the dead, in war, and in games, what must or must not be done is decided partly in accordance with true knowledge and partly in accordance with customs and traditions that have no justification in facts. The Indians of the western desert regions developed a type of corn better suited for growth in those regions than any that has been produced by modern experimenters in agriculture. Their methods of selecting, preserving, and planting seed were, however, apparently regulated more by superstitious and religious ideas than they were by knowledge of cause and effect.

The Indians of Mexico, in their favorite game of long-distance racing have developed a system of dieting and physical training that enables their athletes to accomplish most remarkable results in the way of speed and endurance. The directions as to what the contestant must do before and during the race in order that he may win are based on a peculiar mingling of foolish superstitions and of sensible practices in full accordance with the laws of hygiene.

Our own ideas at the present day as to what animals are suitable for food and what are not are influenced in a similar way. It is tradition rather than scientific knowledge that causes the mouth to water at the thought of beefsteak and the stomach to revolt at the thought of horse or dog steak or cat stew.

Conditions and morals. It may be accepted as generally true that some of the rules regulating conduct in relation to others, as well as in relation to work and play, are founded upon what is for the advantage of the group or upon what was advantageous or even absolutely necessary at one time in its history. Some very diverse moral codes may thus be justified by the peculiar conditions of life under which different groups existed.

It would seem at first that there could be no justification in a code that demands that a son shall kill his parents as soon as they become helpless. We must consider, however, that the people who recognized this moral code were wandering people living under very hard conditions, so that it was impossible for the group to survive if they were burdened with a great number of helpless individuals. To leave them behind meant torture from hunger and suffering or death from wild beasts or enemies. Hence the good of the group and kindness to the individual demanded that they should be put out of the way, and this was regarded as peculiarly the son's duty.

All groups of people have some sort of code to which all members of the group must conform. In every case it is safe to say that some of its rules enjoin those actions which, under the conditions in which the group lives, are most favorable to its preservation and welfare. Other portions of the code as surely represent actions that are not now, and perhaps never have been, of any real utility to the group as a whole. They have originated as chance superstitions, or have been devised by leaders for their own advantage, and then perpetuated by custom and their supposed sacred character. Some of them represent actions that are of use to no one,

while others present standards of conduct which are favorable to certain classes of individuals only, such as rules regarding control of slaves, the divine right of kings, or the sacredness of priests.

Morals and punishment. However founded, moral codes are powerful in controlling and regulating the conduct and the ideals of the individuals of the group in proportion as they seem to represent the sentiments and practices of all its members or of its leaders.

Under special circumstances, as in the case of certain isolated tribes in Africa, custom alone, without teaching or punishment, may quite effectively regulate the conduct of the group. In certain villages, where there is no relation with the people of other villages except that of warfare, all members of the village have the same customs, which are acquired through imitation by the younger people and perpetuated generation after generation. No one uses incorrect speech because he has never heard any language different from that usual in the village. The same is largely true of conduct. Punishment in order to make children or adults conform to the customs of the group is unknown so far as could be determined by a missionary living among them for seven years. Some instances of scolding were observed, but these were expressions of irritation rather than punishments intended to change conduct.

Among people of more intelligence and initiative and with stricter regulations, or who, through association with other groups, observe conduct and customs differing from their own, it is impossible to regulate the conduct of individuals without some form of punishment direct or indirect.

Among intelligent people who consider the future

as well as immediate results of action, the moral code always means a good deal of repression of instinctive impulses. Hence punishments must be inflicted or rewards offered to induce individuals to exercise restraint in accordance with that code. This is especially the case where the pleasures of the individual and the good of the group seem to come in conflict and in cases where coöperative action can be successful only when each individual conforms to certain directions and rules. Such regulations often originate in time of war and are then strictly enforced by the leaders.

Every social group must protect itself against an individual whose act will in itself bring harm to the group, either directly or because, as supposed, some spirit will visit punishment upon the group if he is displeased by the action of one of its individuals. Among peoples where the family and the larger community group are combined in the patriarchal tribe, moral conduct is most clearly regulated by considerations of group welfare. An individual is forbidden to interfere with the persons or property not only of members of his own tribe, but of members of other tribes. The leaders are strict in prohibiting such acts because they know that their whole tribe will be held responsible for the action of one of its members. Any member of the tribe is liable to loss of life and property because of the action of any other member.

The group is always stronger than the individual, and through the older men and the leaders the younger and more independent individuals have their actions controlled and regulated. Such regulations constitute the moral code of the group and ultimately the conscience of the individual.

Group loyalty. The primary basis of all moral codes is that the conduct of the individual must be regulated by the customs and beliefs of the group to which he belongs.

Among oriental nations generally the individual receives little consideration. His duty is to conform to the ideas and customs of his people and of his ancestors, regardless of what his own feelings may be. Among occidental peoples the feelings and the welfare of the individual receive much more consideration, yet in the final decision, if there seems to be a conflict between the individual and the group to which he belongs, the moral code of every people requires that the will of the group rather than of the individual shall prevail.

This constitutes the burden of most moral teaching, and every person learns sooner or later that it is for his own good to conform in a large measure to the accepted customs and regulations of his group. He finds that the way in which he acts inevitably determines the way others act toward him, and that he can gain his own ends only by recognizing the rules of conduct followed by those about him. This is especially impressed upon boys who engage in games and find themselves shut out if they do not conform to the rules, and who see that failure to conform by others interferes with the pleasures of the game. In work and coöperative activity of all kinds each individual sees that he must regulate his own conduct by the customary action of his fellows.

Where the group to which the individual belongs comes in conflict with another group, the chief determining influence upon the conscience of the individual is the idea of loyalty to his own. He deems it his duty

to act for the injury of other groups if the customs or the good of his own group demand that he shall do so. In more primitive times no moral obligation was recognized except to one's own people. Strangers were killed or maltreated without compunction.

War has always emphasized this attitude. It not only justifies doing to the members of another tribe or nation what would be regarded as a crime if the individual injured were a member of one's own group, but it has encouraged such actions and has even made them models of the heroic. To deceive, kill, and even torture an enemy is the act of a hero. The reason for this is that the good of the group is supposed to demand that an opposing group shall be injured as much as possible, and that the action of the individual who risks his own life, or in any way sacrifices himself to that end, is noble. The idea of loyalty to one's own is so fundamental in all moral codes that it cannot be dispensed with on the playground, in business, or in the relation of nations to one another.

Social organizations of all kinds emphasize this ideal, that one must be true to his nation, his family, his fraternity, his union, his church, or to whatever organization he belongs. His own interests must be sacrificed for the good of the group. This idea has been and must continue to be fundamental in moral codes although it may not completely dominate.

Enlargement and specialization of regulative influences. A higher type of morality can develop only by modification in ideas as to what constitutes the group to which one belongs and to which one must be loyal. As civilization progresses each individual in fact and in his own consciousness becomes a member of a larger

and larger group, until the time may come when he shall recognize that all human beings, living and dead and those yet to be born, belong to the same group, the human brotherhood. This fosters the feeling that one's deeds should be worthy of one's ancestors and enforces the truth that the act of each individual affects more or less all persons now living and those to follow. Actions must, then, be justified not only to neighbors, but to the world and to future generations.

This increasing consciousness of the common nature and needs of all human beings and appreciation of the effects of one's acts upon all members of the race, as well as upon the small group among whom one is living, are associated with considerable specialization in loyalty and in the moral rules recognized by the individual. Formerly one knew a few individuals in many relations and he was responsible for all phases of his conduct to the sentiments of this small group. Now, in cities especially, one knows many groups of people, each in only a few relations, and he is responsible to the sentiments of each group separately.

With his business associates he must conform to the rules recognized among business men. In his club, which may consist of an entirely different set of individuals, he must regulate his conduct according to the rules and sentiments of the club. The same is true of all the different groups of people with whom he comes in contact. He is loyal to each and conforms to the rules of each group with which he is associated. In one group he may have the full support of his companions in acts which, if known to other groups to which he belongs, would be severely condemned.

This applies especially to residents of large cities,

but it applies even more to persons who occasionally visit large cities, where they meet no one with whom their home people are acquainted, and where their actions are, therefore, largely uninfluenced by what their neighbors may say, think, or do. This makes it possible for many forms of vice to thrive in a city which would receive no support or patronage in a small community.

Institutions and public opinion and morals. The change from personal to institutional activity also has considerable influence upon moral conduct. Every institution is carried on according to certain rules, and conformity to these means a great deal of regulation of conduct for those connected with the institution. Sometimes these rules refer not only to business, but also to personal conduct, such as politeness or sobriety.

On the other hand, the feeling toward an institution is not the same as that toward an individual. Many men will, therefore, be much more inclined to deal dishonestly with an institution than with a person. The man who would not think of cheating any one out of money justly due him will take every possible advantage of a railway, an insurance company, or other institution. This is largely because he does not see so clearly the effect of his acts, and especially because his friends and the persons who are ultimately wronged do not know of his conduct and have no way of showing their disapproval of the wrongdoer. Many grafters of public funds are strictly honest in their dealing with individuals, including their fellow grafters.

The man who would not think of cheating or injuring his poor sick neighbor may sell worthless, even injurious, preparations to thousands of unfortunate

strangers. This is possible because he does not fully realize the results that come from his business and because no one that he knows, or to whose set he belongs, shows any disapproval of the act. The farmer who would not sell defective fruit or diseased meat to his neighbor may send them away and sell them to people he does not know.

Rapid changes have, however, been taking place, and along with a decrease in some of the influences favoring personal moral action there are also many influences increasing institutional and public morality.

Banks, insurance companies, and manufacturers now take more pains to build up and maintain their reputation for reliability than do most individuals. They, and also public service corporations, such as railways, recognize their responsibility, not only to their employees and stockholders, but to the general public. Standardization has also had important effects because false claims are easily detected.

An increasing knowledge of the more remote results of any course of action in these days of specialization and exchange of products between people who have never seen each other, and increasing publicity and fixing of responsibility through the newspapers, have had important effects.

The gossip of neighbors in a small community exercises a strong restraining influence upon every member of that community. In a similar way the newspapers give publicity to one's acts and their results, and this has become a powerful social influence upon men as individuals and as officials of the government and of other institutions.

As people become better informed regarding the re-

sults of different ways of carrying on business, politics, and institutions of all kinds, the influences impelling each person to recognize the rights and pleasures of the public become greater and greater. This moral responsibility is recognized in law as well as in public sentiment, and the heads of institutions now conform to laws and to the demands of the public in ways never conceived of by those of a generation ago. Manufacturers and business men of to-day now have the same reasons for being honest with those who ultimately use their goods as did men who exchanged with their permanent neighbors. They know that they cannot continue to sell their goods unless they are according to representation. Any customer who purchases a standard product and finds it defective is encouraged by the retail dealer and the manufacturer to return it and receive in its place a new supply.

At one time it was thought that lying was the most successful mode of advertising, but now those who do professional advertising for firms that expect to continue in business, insist that advertisements must be essentially truthful or success will be brief.

Although this type of morality has recently developed, yet many officials conform to its principles, not merely because it pays, but because they wish to promote the welfare of all persons who are affected by their public acts. Only the more intelligent people, however, appreciate this higher type of morality, and it still remains true that in many places a politician, whose public acts are generally injurious to the people of his city, is elected to office again and again because he is personally kind to the voters and their families and helps them in trouble and misfortune.

Utility and morals. Along with these changes others of considerable importance have taken place. Formerly ideas as to what was right were determined very largely by custom and tradition and only slightly by definite knowledge and appreciation of the natural and inevitable results of certain kinds of action.

The scientific tendency shown in other lines to study cause and effect has had its influence in the field of morals. More and more are actions approved as right or condemned as wrong according to the consequences that follow, and more and more is the moral code being based upon known sociological laws. Young people and others are no longer satisfied when told that a thing is wrong because it has always been so regarded. They must be shown just how and why it is wrong.

In many respects this represents a distinct advance, but we must also recognize that knowledge not backed by instinctive tendencies does not have strong controlling and regulating influence. People may know that certain acts are injurious to themselves and to others and yet not be restrained from them as effectively as they are in other cases where instinct, sentiment, or custom play a larger part. The use of drugs may be condemned by the mind and yet practiced because of appetite, fashion, or habit. A man may be fully convinced intellectually that it is unwise or even wrong to give to beggars and yet his instinctive sympathy may impel him to do so. He may believe that there is no justification in the welfare of society for the giving-up of their lives by talented individuals in order that some ignorant, unimportant women may be saved, yet we still honor rather than condemn the man who makes such a sacrifice.

The modern code of ethics is very properly founded to an increasing extent, upon scientific knowledge of sociological phenomena, but it does and should take into account not merely the more immediate utilitarian results, but also the value and significance of fundamental instincts and racial ideals in human conduct. To preserve the lives of useless human beings and care for them may not be justified on utilitarian grounds, yet sentiment will probably maintain the practice. Although science may and should more and more determine the moral code, yet folk-ways and ideals are more powerful in controlling strong instinct opposed to moral codes than scientific knowledge of results, and, therefore, must not be hastily abandoned.

Scientific knowledge and religious belief. In many respects the changes regarding religious beliefs and activities have been greater than in the field of morals. Religion has always been associated with the belief in an immaterial world of powerful beings who are able to exercise a potent influence upon things and persons. This belief in unknown spirits has mingled with knowledge of things and their relations. In many enterprises of men attempts have been made not only to utilize knowledge in securing desired ends, but also to enlist the favor and help of spiritual powers. Among most primitive peoples the beginning of all important acts, war, seed-planting, harvest, etc., and important events, such as marriages, births, and deaths, are associated with religious ceremonies of some kind. This has continued down to the present time, but now exists to a very much less extent than formerly.

The scientific spirit, which seeks a material cause for every event, has largely taken the place of the religious

spirit and of religious exercises. The change is well illustrated by such incidents as this: Cotton Mather, when suffering from a toothache, decided that he must make a careful self-examination to discover in what respect he had failed in his duty and thus had caused this affliction to be sent upon him. The modern minister would never think of doing this, but would go to a dentist and ask him regarding the physical cause of the pain and have him apply the necessary means for removing it. Men no longer look to the evil acts of its inhabitants for the cause of pestilence in a city but rather to its water supply, its sewerage system, or its germ-bearing insects.

This tendency to find causes and apply known remedies extends not only to material things and to bodily conditions, but also to the thoughts and acts of men. We go to psychology to find the explanation of certain acts and states of mind instead of supposing them to be caused by some evil spirit. This does not mean that scientific knowledge leaves no place for religious beliefs, but merely that it has taken the place of many old religious beliefs and consequently gives religion a different and less conspicuous place in modern life.

These changes are important, not so much in the effect that they have had upon the foundations of religious beliefs and practice of the deeper thinkers, as in their effects upon the beliefs and especially the practices of the common people. Those who study deeply into the phenomena of nature, trying to search out ultimate causes, come to things that are unexplainable by science, just as their more ignorant predecessors found themselves unable to explain by anything they knew the common events of nature. The ancients often per-

sonified forces of nature as gods, while by the modern believer they may still be regarded as expressions of God's unchanging will which man may come to know through increased knowledge of the invariable working of these forces.

To others, however, who have not gone so deeply into the question, it seems, as one mystery after another is explained by science, that all things may thus be explained and that there is no occasion for supposing the existence of any spiritual power or for invoking its aid. The development of machinery, the results of whose wonderful working may be seen by every one, but whose details are understood by but a few, serves to increase faith in material causes and to divert attention from spiritual forces.

Religious observances decreasing. This change in intellectual attitude is associated with even more important changes in conduct. Religious ceremonies play a much smaller part in the life of people to-day than was formerly the case. Where they are continued it is largely as a part of special religious exercises and not so much in connection with all the important events of life. Religious ceremonies are much less prominent in connection with death, marriages, and public events of all kinds. In other words, people are not so frequently engaged in acts which recognize spiritual forces as concerned with human affairs.

This has a more important influence than lack of thought or belief regarding such forces. Nothing so makes any belief a part of one's self as joining with others in acting as if it were true. Young people of to-day do not so frequently see religious ceremonials and do not themselves take part in them so much as for-

merly. Hence it is inevitable that religion should play a smaller part in their life, conduct, and belief than it did in the lives of preceding generations. This decrease in the influences reflecting religious beliefs and practices is made still greater by the growing tendency to separate religion and morals and to develop a scientific conception of moral codes.

Religion still powerful. Notwithstanding these changes modifying religious beliefs and decreasing religious practices, it still remains true that religious beliefs exert a powerful influence even upon those who profess to be unbelievers. There never has been and probably never will be any group of people among whom religion in some form is not an important factor in regulating and controlling action. The superstitions connected with religion have declined so that it now has less influence upon thought and action in the minor affairs of life, yet the best of religion has been embodied in our social and moral ideas and still controls beliefs and conduct to a large extent.

In our own country, although there is supposed to be complete separation of church and state, there is still official recognition of religion in the opening of assemblies of various kinds and to some extent in our legislation. The Sunday laws in many states are still based upon the idea that Sunday is a sacred day which for religious reasons must be observed by not engaging in ordinary work. In some states, however, the laws regarding Sunday are based solely upon moral and sociological principles. Instead of saying what may be done on that day, the law simply provides that all workers shall have one day in seven free to spend in other ways than in their regular work, or it may go a little farther

in recognizing the rights of certain classes of people to follow their custom of observing Sunday in certain ways, and to that end prohibits others from doing anything to interfere with such observance.

Much is gained by taking the scientific view with regard to religious as well as other phenomena, but in so far as utility rather than some ideal serves as a motive for action, there is a distinct loss. There is a positive danger to society in developing knowledge and utilitarian ideas as standards for control and regulation of conduct, if there is at the same time a loss of the powerful influence of religious ideals as ultimate controllers and regulators of action.

EXERCISES

1. Give illustrations of regulations that are binding largely because of custom and others for which a reason may be shown.
2. Why was horse-stealing considered such a serious crime in pioneer days? Give other examples of morality governed by special circumstances.
3. If laws inflicting punishment for stealing were repealed in your state would stealing increase? Would the majority of the people steal? Why?
4. Is there any ideal of heroism that can take the place of those furnished by war?
5. Give several illustrations of moral obligations based on the idea of loyalty to a group?
6. Why is acting as a strike-breaker regarded as so wrong by union men even when the one who so acts has a family threatened with starvation? To what extent do societies of various kinds enlarge or narrow group loyalty?
7. Should a statesman be judged by his loyalty to his district, to his country, or by his personal morals?

8. To what extent does a permanently successful, industrial, or commercial institution foster morality on the part of those who are running it and having dealings with it?
9. Give specific evidence of increase in public morality or regard for the interests of all the people instead of for certain individuals, groups, or classes.
10. Just how or why does standardization in the industries help to promote honesty?
11. Are truthfulness and honesty valued now chiefly because of their sacred character or because they are sensible, useful, profitable ways of acting? Which exercises the greater restraint, the supposed sanctity of truth, or knowledge of its general value or significance in life? Is it the same for all kinds of persons?
12. Would a nation that destroyed all helpless and defective individuals reach a higher type of civilization than one that cared for them?
13. Give illustrations of the substitution of scientifically directed operations for religious exercises.
14. Just how does such an act as keeping the Sabbath, or fasting, foster religious belief?
15. What evidence can you find in the census reports that religion is or is not powerful enough to enlist more men and money in its service than formerly?

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES — GENERAL

Education a need of every social group. Whenever people have been living, working, playing together for some time, they have developed certain customs, knowledge, and skill which must be acquired by any newcomer before he can successfully carry on his part as a member of the group. This applies equally to the various organizations of to-day, to nations, and to the most primitive groups of human beings. Many of the modern societies and lodges give special instruction to new members, and most of them do not allow a member to take a position of prominence until he has been allied with the society for some time and has had an opportunity to become familiar with its workings.

In groups of primitive people considerable knowledge and skill is necessary in most places in order to maintain life. They must know what may be used for food, where it may be obtained, and how it may be prepared and stored for future use. There must be knowledge of what is dangerous to life and of the means of providing protection against wild animals, climatic changes, and enemies. Besides this there are in every social group certain kinds of action expected of the different classes of people, the men, the women, the children, and the leaders or the servants if there are such. Each group of people has traditions, social customs, moral and religious beliefs with which any newcomer must become familiar.

Even if the group is isolated and has none coming to it from other groups, still it is continually receiving new individuals by the birth of children and their growth to maturity. The process by which these new individuals learn to take their places in the community is one of education. They are not born with the knowledge possessed by the group, but must acquire it. They do not, however, have to acquire it all independently, by chance or purposive experiments that reveal to them what is good to eat, what is dangerous, what the needs for the different times of the year are, or what customs are most advantageous. They can learn these things in a shorter time and with much less pain and danger by observing the actions of older members of the group and by imitating and receiving instruction from them. If the young people in each group did not have the opportunity thus to learn from their elders, it would be difficult for the group to survive except in the more favorable regions of the earth and it would be impossible for it to maintain its institutions and culture. Education of the younger generation is, therefore, a necessity in every case.

The greater the knowledge and skill required in order that the group may live efficiently, the greater the necessity for education and the more necessary is it that the new generation shall not only learn from their elders rather than by their own experience alone, but that they shall be consciously taught by them. This is why so much time must be devoted to education in the present day thickly settled community with artificial surroundings, where life is maintained by complex industries.

Character of primitive education. Among primitive

people the children receive a large part of their education incidentally through observing the actions of older people, imitating them, and helping them. In most cases they also receive some instruction as to how to secure and prepare food, clothing, and shelter. This training is given chiefly by parents and older children. The more formal and direct instruction is usually moral and religious and is given by the elders of the community. In nearly all tribes a certain amount of time, varying from a few days to several months, is devoted to giving the young the special training necessary to perpetuate the moral and religious beliefs of the group. This instruction is usually given at the age of puberty, just before the young people take their places as members of the community.

The character of the education varies with every group, but in most cases it involves more action than receiving of instruction. In many cases the youths are made to endure hunger and pain and are required to deny themselves and act exactly in accordance with directions. Often they are required to go through certain ceremonies that are symbolic or religious in character. Along with these ceremonies there may be given some instruction as to the history of the tribe and the significance of the various movements, songs, dances, etc., which they learn.

The instructors are in nearly all cases the older men of the tribe, and if the customs and beliefs of the group are to be perpetuated, the instruction must be impressive and permanent in its effects. This is probably one reason why fasting, tests of endurance, secrecy, and detailed directions as to the exact way in which things must be done are made so prominent in these initiative

ceremonies which constitute the principal feature of the education given by the priests and old men of the group.

The character of civilized education. When people have developed so that they use a great many tools and a great variety of machinery in many specialized industries, and when the amount of general and special knowledge possessed by the group is very extensive, the necessity for the education of children becomes vastly greater. Years of study and training are necessary before the individual can acquire even a small portion of the general knowledge possessed by the group, and many more years of technical training, to prepare for one of the more highly specialized occupations by means of which individuals indirectly obtain food, clothing, shelter, and the satisfaction of various desires.

Although much may still be learned incidentally by observation and imitation, yet a great deal more must be definitely taught. The occupation of the father is usually outside of the home and the son has little opportunity to become familiar with it by observation. Of the occupations of other men he has also little opportunity to learn incidentally. He must go into the office, shop, or factory, and then he finds division of labor and specialization so complete that he can learn little except by special study and practice in particular processes.

As to general knowledge the child at the present day can acquire much incidentally concerning his own neighborhood and his own times, but of other places and of other ages he must learn for the most part by special study.

For the reasons given above, civilized society, instead

of requiring the young to spend a few days or a few months in receiving instruction, finds it necessary for them to spend from six to eighteen years in preparing themselves for taking an effective part in the activities of life. Education can no longer be left to the parents and to a few of the older men, but society must provide a means for carrying it on.

Although children still receive a great deal of education in the home and from various other sources, especially the church, yet the chief institution for preparing the young to take their places in life is the school. The necessity of such an institution is now fully recognized. Not only are there schools in all civilized countries, but these schools are generally controlled and supported by the state. Education is no longer regarded merely as a convenience for the individual, but as a necessity for society. The material and social comfort of life to-day depends not so much upon natural environment as upon artificial conditions that can be maintained only by skilled workers who have received a long course of training.

If a single generation were left without education, the possibilities of life, comfort, and happiness would decrease so rapidly, especially in the thickly populated districts, that untold misery would result. We all know that a strike in a single industry may cause an immense amount of discomfort and suffering. Inefficiency in all the industries and in the management of governmental affairs would result from failure to educate a single generation. Without the natural advantages the savage enjoys, we in our artificial environment would be far more helpless than he.

Where each generation is educated, it is possible for

a thousand times as many people to live comfortably in the same territory as it would be if they were ignorant, untrained savages. Civilization can maintain itself only by educating each new generation as fully as the past generation was educated. In order to advance, the education given each rising generation must be superior to that given to preceding ones. It must prepare them for doing successfully what is already being done, according to the methods now used, but it must also prepare them for receiving new ideas and introducing improved methods.

A nation may aim, as China did for centuries, to give an education designed to produce a condition of society like that of its own best past, or it may prepare for the life of to-day as it is being carried on, or it may prepare for a different and better future which is expected when the newer generation takes its place in society.

It is impossible to make a complete break with the past because the teachers, the schools, and all other social influences are the products of the past. Educational institutions, ideals, and practices require several generations before they can be wholly transformed. It follows, therefore, that even though the ideal be a new order of society, considerable time must be required before teachers can be trained to teach so as to bring it about, since they cannot entirely break away from the training they themselves had when young. It is safe to say also that there is much in the past teaching that is fundamentally good or it would not have been used for many generations.

Closely associated with the aim of education is the question of the materials of instruction to be used.

The more the material is taken from the culture epochs of the remote past rather than from the recent past or immediate present, the more conservative is the teaching. The new generation is prevented from breaking away from the traditions of the older and is fitted for life as it has been, but not necessarily for the present. If the culture material is taken from the life of to-day, there is a possibility that it may not be so good, against the chance that it may be better, and a certainty that the new generation will be different from the old which had different training.

In former times the aim of education was to develop a highly cultured, well-trained, ruling class, but in recent times, as democracy has developed, the aim has been to give everybody at least a minimum amount of education, and the tendency is for more advanced education to be granted to a larger portion of the people. In some countries, however, a disproportionately large amount of money is spent on higher education as compared with the elementary schools.

Aims and functions of the schools. The necessity for education, as already indicated, determines to a considerable extent the aims and functions of the school. The school must take the chief responsibility of preparing the young people to carry on the world's work and to make further advance in civilization possible. It is true that an immense amount of education is given the rising generation incidentally and intentionally outside of the school. It is the business of the school to utilize and supplement this education in such a way that young people will be prepared for the work now being done and that which will need to be done in the future. Whatever education is needed that is not given suc-

cessfully by experience, by the home, or by the church, must be given by the school.

The demands being made upon the school are increasing rapidly, not only because of the advance in knowledge and the increase in complexity of the processes involved in the various industries, but because the effectiveness of the other educational influences is decreasing rather than increasing. The children have less opportunity to learn by observation and experience than formerly, because they are in the midst of an artificial environment in which many of the processes are carried on by means of complicated and invisible machinery. They have comparatively little opportunity to observe the phenomena of nature or to observe and imitate the simple means by which food, clothing, and shelter are obtained under primitive conditions.

The home is far less influential than formerly because the various members of the family are together there only a small portion of the time. Much of the work is done away from home and amusement and social intercourse are gained elsewhere, often separately by the different members of the family.

The church, although directly and indirectly a powerful educative influence, is comparatively much less prominent than in former days. The number of hours spent in church and Sunday school are few and the amount learned correspondingly slight.

It is not strange, therefore, with the mass of subject-matter to be learned increasing with wonderful rapidity and the educational influence of other institutions than the school diminishing, that more and more should be demanded of the schools. Subject after subject is added to the courses of study and still there is increased de-

mand that the schools do more. The schools are being made a means not only of preserving what has already been gained in knowledge, but of preparing for further advance in science, art, literature, civics, and morals.

The functions of the schools are being enlarged still further. Primarily they were established to prepare the youthful generation for life, but now they are beginning also to take on the function of giving further education to the adult population. This is being done both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, important educative influences reach from the schools to the home through the children. This is perhaps especially prominent in the lines of literature, home decoration, and hygiene. Direct education is given to adults in the form of public lectures, evening schools, continuation schools, reading clubs, and university extension work. At first this kind of instruction was given largely through private organizations, but is now being directed more and more by school authorities.

In addition to this, researches of all kinds are being carried on by educational institutions and the results of these studies are given to those to whom they will be most valuable. Up to the present time the most important work of this kind has been in the line of agriculture. The principles of better farming have been developed in experiment stations and agricultural colleges and have been taught to the farmers of the country very extensively. The schools, lower and higher, are being more and more relied upon for discovering new truths that will be useful to mankind and for spreading the knowledge to young and old.

Many think that too much is being demanded of the school, that it is taking upon itself functions that could

better be performed by other institutions. This may be true, but the young people must be properly trained or civilization cannot be maintained, to say nothing of making progress, and if the training is not being given outside, it remains for the school, as the chief educational institution under the control of society, to do the work.

It has been claimed by some that with such an increase in the number of subjects it is impossible for the schools to give as thorough training in the older fundamentals as was given when the subjects were fewer. A comparison with the work sixty years ago, made possible by the discovery of a set of old examination papers in Springfield, Massachusetts, proves, however, that the modern youth, with his many subjects, is superior to the old-time pupil in the fundamentals of spelling, writing, and arithmetic, and no one will question that he is superior in reading and in general information. The more cultural surroundings in which children live to-day, and better methods of teaching and correlating what is taught, make it possible for children to pursue the more extensive course of study and yet increase their efficiency in the fundamentals.

Organization and control of schools. It is generally recognized that the state is the final authority in education. In most civilized countries it requires all children to attend school up to a certain age, and it provides or requires that the local community shall provide for the education of all children. It also regulates to a greater or less extent, by law, the processes of education.

As to the actual carrying-on of the schools there are considerable differences in various countries and in the states of this country. In some places there is what is called a centralized system in which the state assumes

full control of the local schools, while in other places the state makes certain general regulations, but leaves the local community to carry on its own schools, the expense being usually born in part by the state and in part by the local community. Under the centralized system the state not only specifies the general character of the schools that must be established and the length of time that they shall be in session, but it makes the course of study, sometimes prescribes the text-books to be used, determines who shall teach in the local schools, gives examinations, and determines all matters of admission, promotion, and graduation. In other states, especially in Massachusetts, the local community has had until recently almost complete freedom to control its own schools, which it supports almost wholly by local taxation. The state makes certain general regulations and encourages towns to have good schools by helping the poorer towns in proportion as they are willing to help themselves, as shown by their spending a large proportion of the money raised by taxation on their schools.

A centralized system has all the advantages of uniformity and the still greater disadvantages. It saves the schools in some communities from being as poor as they might be, but it makes it difficult for others to be as good as they wish to be. The basal idea supporting the centralized system is the belief that one man or a group of men can be wiser for all the communities of the state than the members of each community can be for themselves. It also presupposes that all communities are essentially alike and what is good for one is good for the others. The last supposition is entirely without foundation, for in each state there is an

immense difference between the rural and city communities and also between different rural and urban communities.

The former supposition, that the central authorities can direct the affairs of each community better than the people of the community, is true only in an undemocratic country and where the people of the local communities are ignorant. In a monarchy such centralized control would be consistent, but in a republic, where each local community not only governs itself, but takes a part in national and state government, it is quite inconsistent to suppose that they cannot manage their educational affairs.

Furthermore, the responsibility of the community for directing the education of its children is in itself an important educative influence. To deprive it of that responsibility is to take away one of the most important means of progress.

This does not mean that the local community should be left entirely without help in solving its educational problems. On the contrary, the central educational officials should furnish it with all possible information as to what may be done and as to the most successful means used in other communities. The central officials in education should be to the local school officials what the departments and schools of agriculture are to the farmers of the state. These institutions have no authority whatever over the farmer, but they furnish him reliable information as to what crops may be successfully grown in each kind of soil and how the planting and culture of a crop may be carried on most profitably. In a similar way the state educational officials should aid the local communities. This policy

of showing them what may be done with advantage will be far more effective than requiring all to come up to some fixed standard.

Another objection to authoritative control by state officials is, that it tends not only to uniformity, but to a continuance of that uniformity. On the other hand, if the local communities are allowed to try whatever seems to meet their needs and the state officials study and test the results of these experiments in the various parts of the state and make public the facts obtained, the chances for improvement and advancement with changing needs are greatly increased.

School administration. The administration of schools, like that of other organizations, has tended to become narrowly institutional instead of broadly public-spirited. Schools were organized to perform a public service for society, but have been administered as if the purpose of each grade were to prepare for the grade above, and the aim of the whole to prepare for an academic career instead of for community life.

Educators, finding that there were considerable advantages in teaching children in groups comprising those that had taken the same work, were led to overvalue the importance of grading and especially the importance of artificial standards in education. This theory was carried out in the form of strict grading, and only those who had done a certain amount and kind of work, as indicated by examinations and markings, were permitted to advance from one grade to another or to be admitted from the grades to the high school and from the high school to college. In some instances children who had failed in one subject only were held back, and as a total result great numbers of children dropped out,

who would have continued in school longer had they been permitted and encouraged to do so. The only advantage gained by this policy was the preservation of an artificial standard of scholarship and the fact that the work of the teachers was rendered somewhat easier and more mechanical. The disadvantages were many, the chief one being that a large number of children were discouraged or refused an education, who had as good a right to it as those of greater ability and perhaps of less need. Not only were they discouraged by these means from taking further education, but also by the fact that the advanced studies offered were not such as were needed or desired by pupils who did not expect to enter the professions.

When we look at the matter from a broad sociological point of view we see that every child and youth should have that kind of education which he is most capable of receiving or of which he is in most need, and which will make him a useful member of society, regardless of what scholastic standards may be. We see also that the only justification for keeping a child in a given grade of school, or for advancing him into another, is that he can profit more with that group than with any other and that he can gain this profit without seriously interfering with the work of other pupils.

In a few schools this attitude is already taken, and any pupil who is making little or no progress, even though he may be in only the fifth or sixth grade, if old enough and if it is believed that he can profit by the work of the secondary school, is placed in that school and given the work which will be most beneficial to him. There is no justification for any other policy in graded and secondary schools supported by public funds.

Marking, examinations, and tests. If this be true, then the only reasons for making any record indicating the proficiency of any pupil are these: first, that better advice may be given as to where he shall be placed and what subjects he shall take in order that he may make the most of his educational opportunities; second, to inform the pupil regarding his own successes and his points of greatest strength and to stimulate him to further effort.

Neither of these ends is effectually accomplished by the system of examination and marking and the usual policy with regard to promotions. The examinations are largely tests of memory rather than of usable acquisitions and at best are very inexact. They vary greatly in difficulty and the standards of those who mark results are still more variable. They are also open to the criticism that, since the pupil in order to go on with his education must obtain certain marks, they encourage effort toward getting those marks by the easiest means available, rather than toward getting a real knowledge of the subject being studied. Since so much depends upon getting certain marks, some persons are nervous and fail to do their best, others cram for examinations, often with the aid of professional tutors whose business it is to prepare them to pass.

The experience of teachers and records of universities show that there is no close relation between the daily work of a pupil and his examination, and still less relation between the entrance examinations of pupils and the record they make during the college course. On the other hand, it is found, in general, that pupils who in the grades do well, in the opinion of their teachers, who mark them not merely by their examinations,

but by all that they know of them in their work, also do well in high school and college. This indicates that acquaintance with a pupil leads to a more accurate judgment as to what he can do than does the grading of a set of papers that he has written.

Recent developments in psychology and pedagogy indicate that great improvements may be made in testing and promoting pupils. This is best exemplified by the Courtis tests in arithmetic. By means of these it is possible to measure what one can do in arithmetic with almost as much accuracy as it is to determine how far a boy can jump or how rapidly he can run. Scales for grading work in penmanship have also been constructed, and many other tests are being developed which will be as much more accurate than are examinations, in measuring what pupils can do, as a steel tape is more accurate for linear measurement than a rubber band.

These tests, in order to be useful, must, however, be considered merely as measures and not as standards that must be reached in order to obtain promotion. It is a good thing to be able to measure a boy and see how tall he is or to time him and find how rapidly he can run, but there is no reason whatever why we should try to make him approximate a certain standard height or a certain standard rate of running and keep him working to try to reach those standards instead of doing things that are more useful to him. Heredity limits the possibilities of his attainment in those directions, and only the amount of practice needed to develop them to a reasonable extent is valuable. That he should be kept to a certain kind of exercise, instead of doing something else, unless reasonable improvement is taking place, has no justification.

What is true of physical abilities is just as true of mental. There is no reason why a boy, who is slow in addition and who has almost ceased to improve with practice, should be kept at it instead of being allowed to take up some other work that will give better results. The same is true in every sort of a test or standard of mental ability. The test should be as accurate a measure of the ability being tested as possible and the standard should simply be a norm by means of which the child and others may know whether his power in that respect is greater or less than that of others of the same age and who have had the same training. Such knowledge is as interesting and helpful to the boy as is a knowledge of how tall he is as compared with other boys of his own age, or of how his jumping or his strength or his speed in running compares with that of others. It helps him more accurately to judge his own abilities, stimulates him to improve if he is capable of improvement, and helps him to decide as to the lines in which he can most profitably specialize.

Such tests are also helpful to the teacher in accurately judging the special ability of his pupils. They may also be of great help to superintendents and scientific students of pedagogy. By means of such tests the relative advantages of different methods of teaching a subject may be determined and the efficiency of different schools and different teachers may be compared. Care must, however, be taken in using them for the latter purpose. If teachers know that they are thus to be used, they may attempt to give special drill preparatory to passing these tests, instead of giving the best training in the subjects concerned.

Although tests may be prepared that will measure

pretty accurately what has been gained in the study of a certain subject under ordinary circumstances, yet it would be difficult to construct tests that will be accurate measures of knowledge and ability in the subject when special time has been spent in drilling, directly preparatory to the test.

If the question of promotion is simply that of putting the child where he can get what is of most value to him, there will be no motive inducing him to take special means for getting a higher record than his abilities warrant. The teacher is also relieved of the necessity of trying to give a mark that will indicate the exact attainments of pupils. She will only need to decide whether the pupil is likely to profit more in the advanced grade or school than he is by remaining.

If any record other than advice as to promotion is needed for any purpose, the records of such scientific tests as have been taken and the judgment of the teacher as to the attainment of the pupil may be indicated sufficiently by ranking the pupil as belonging to one of three or five groups. If this is done, the ranking should be made not in accordance with any ideal standard of how good the work should be, but merely as an indication of the comparative success of the different members of the class. The largest proportion of the class should be in the group of pupils of medium attainment, a smaller number above medium and below medium, and a still smaller number who have done exceptionally well or whose work is exceptionally poor. Such records as this mean more than percentages, for if the student is in the first third of his class we know that he has done well compared with others who have the same opportunity as he, but if he has a record of

eighty-seven per cent, we do not know what it indicates as to his ability and his attainment in that subject, unless we know the mark received by others of the class who had the same chance.

Standardization in education. Measurements and standards are as important in working toward efficiency and economy in education as they are in economics. Measurements, though somewhat less exact than in other sciences, may be employed in the same way in developing a theoretical and applied science of education. In order that this may be the case, pupils who fail in various tests should be permitted to remain in school and records should be kept that will show whether students who fail in certain lines to a certain extent will almost surely fail in other lines. If, for example, it is established by such tests and records that all those who fall below a certain standard in arithmetic, grammar, or any other subject, are sure to fail in algebra, geometry, or commercial arithmetic, while they may be able to succeed admirably in literature, drawing, and manual training, then there would be good reason for fixing certain standards in certain subjects that must be reached if certain other subjects are to be studied. Such a use of standards in education would be scientific and of advantage to the individual in saving him wasted effort. There is no justification, however, for fixing standards arbitrarily or even for basing standards upon what a majority of pupils of a certain age achieve after a certain amount of training, especially if such standards are to be used as a basis for excluding individuals from further educational opportunities. The slow, the dull, and even the mentally deficient should be given further training suited to their

needs, regardless of their failure to reach the usual standards of achievement.

Even in economic production means of measuring and testing are more important than limitations with regard to standards. Foods, medicines, etc., should be tested and labeled according to the various substances that they contain, but the fixing by law of certain standards that must be conformed to in order that the goods may be sold is justifiable only when such minimum standards are necessary for the protection of health. Education rather than law should make a market for inferior products impossible. It has already been shown that there are great economic advantages associated with the standardizing of products, but that there are also certain disadvantages. In the case of human beings who are being educated the advantages of standardization would be much less if exact standardization were possible, and the disadvantages much greater. A standardization of product means necessarily that, for the time being at least, there can be no change in the way of improving it.

When education is the process and human beings the product, it is evident that to adopt means which prevent further improvement is directly opposed to the fundamental idea of education, at least so far as personality is concerned. There is some ground for claiming that skill in doing certain useful things may profitably be standardized without interfering with the progress of the individual in other directions. It may be well to have an individual reach a certain degree of skill and rapidity in penmanship and fix that as a habit by practice instead of practicing with a view to better or to more rapid writing.

The same thing may hold regarding the skill that should be attained in performing the operations involved in each vocation. It would doubtless be a considerable advantage to employ men in the various occupations who would do a certain amount of work of a certain quality in a given time. This is done to some extent, especially in more mechanical processes, but the natural difference in human beings is such that it is in many instances not possible or not economical to have all work according to the same standard rate. Where the product can be measured accurately, piece-work is therefore substituted for day-work, and each is paid according to the amount he does instead of all being trained and required to do the same amount. It would appear, then, that even in vocational education, where standardization is most justifiable, there is little reason for attempting to bring all students to exactly the same standards. Such a course limits and perhaps makes impossible the attainment of a higher standard by persons of exceptional ability.

In the case of non-vocational training, where the purpose is to develop as high a type of personality as possible, the attempt to bring all individuals to the same standard has no justification whatever. The standard set is likely to become the ideal, and all advancement on the part of both teachers and pupils is impeded by the effort to develop standardized individuals. Nothing has so interfered with educational processes and progress as the prevalent idea and practice which demand that a certain degree of attainment shall be reached by each individual before he completes the work of a grade or a school and is allowed to graduate or to take advanced work.

In short, measurements in education are always valuable, and standards based on the usual amount achieved after a certain period of training may be of very great use in testing different methods, in enlightening and stimulating the pupil, and in helping the teacher to advise him as to his further work, but the results can only be evil if the attempt is made to have our schools produce standardized personalities.

The older the pupils become and the more specialized the training that is being given them in preparation for certain occupations, the greater is the justification for attempting to produce a standardized, economic individual; but the younger the children, the more general the training being given, and the greater the hope of further progress, the less justifiable is the attempt to standardize them in any respect.

The only successful and logical process of developing standardized individuals was that practiced by the Jesuit schools. It was assumed that the supreme end of education was to develop and train persons to be absolutely dependable instruments of the church. This meant that they were trained to give up all personal desires, submit their will to that of higher authority, and to work in accordance with prescribed methods. Some will admit that the church has a right to demand such suppression of individuality in order that a usable standardized product may be produced, but few would say in these democratic days that a state has any right thus to suppress individuality in order to produce a standardized human product, no matter how great the efficiency brought about by having standard workers in all lines.

General and vocational education. In order to pre-

pare the new generation for carrying on our present civilization, it is necessary, first, that all shall be taught the things that need to be known by every member of this civilized society, whatever his occupation or place in life. This may be called general education, and may be elementary in character such as is needed by all, or may be of a more advanced character which would be useful to all and almost necessary to some.

Besides this general information nearly every one needs the special knowledge and skill that fit him for success in some vocation. This need for vocational education is very much greater than formerly. The occupations that do not demand special knowledge and training now employ comparatively few persons, while those that require years of preparation are numerous and constantly increasing. Vocational education is, therefore, becoming a more and more important work of the schools.

In addition to general and vocational education there is an increasing need for another kind of education, that preparing one for living in contrast with the mere making of a living. The hours of labor, which were formerly from twelve to sixteen, are now from eight to twelve, and even less in many occupations. Not only the leisure classes, but almost all classes now have some time which they can spend as they wish. Every man can satisfy his desires for recreation, for social intercourse, and for culture to the extent made possible by the means offered him and his capacity for utilizing them. It has, therefore, become an important function of the schools to educate for leisure, or, in other words, to teach how to live after the means of living have been obtained.

To be properly educated, the new generation must

be prepared to appreciate and help carry on, by the best means that have been developed, the economic, protective, recreational, social, cultural, and moral and religious activities of the community. No person can become an expert in all these lines, but in order to take his place in the complex life of to-day he must know something of all of them. The prominence of these activities in the community and nation, and the character of the knowledge and training that will best prepare individuals for engaging in and appreciating them, must determine what should be given in the way of general education. Education is, therefore, dependent upon sociology for determining its aims and the kind of knowledge needed, while psychology can aid only in telling how the aims prescribed by society may be reached and how the materials that social conditions make useful may best be presented to the rising generation.

In vocational education the individual or his parents must decide what he wishes to do, while the nature of the occupation and its stage of development determine what knowledge and skill are needed, and psychology shows how this knowledge and skill may be gained with least loss of time and energy.

EXERCISES

1. Report on education as carried on in one or more primitive tribes.
2. Describe the results if all education should cease in the United States, indicating what industries would first decline as decade after decade passed.
3. Discuss these topics: (*a*) How far does a classic course prepare for the life of a past civilization and science for that of the present and future? (*b*) Has human nature

changed as much as the material means of living? (*c*) Contrast the comparative value as subject-matter of (1) ancient history and present-day politics and sociology; (2) ancient and present-day literature; (3) primitive industries as advocated by culture-epoch theorists and present-day industries as advocated by many practical men.

4. Discuss the true function of the school, considering the questions of teaching manual arts, housework, games, politeness, morals, thrift, hygiene, sex truths, etc. Can the school continue to take on new duties and yet do its work successfully without increasing the length of the school day or year?
5. Is general diffusion of knowledge of most value in a democratic or an autocratic nation? Why? Which will give greatest efficiency?
6. Discuss control by force or authority and by education in a nation or in a school system either large or small.
7. Compare the schools of two states or two cities, in one of which there is much central control and in the other much local control, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each.
8. Is there any valid reason for strict grading and refusal of promotion to those not meeting certain requirements presented in the ideal of "maintaining educational standards"? Or should grading and promotion be solely for the good of the individual and to promote efficiency of effort on the part of teachers? Why?
9. Does similarity in knowledge and ability in class favor efficient work, or is the work as good or better when there are considerable but not too great differences?
10. Discuss the relative value of these three ways of determining the grouping and promotion of children: (1) judgment of teacher, (2) examinations, (3) standardized, general, and special tests of ability and attainment. Should age and size also be considered?

11. Is it necessary that those who are grouped together in one subject shall be together in all?
12. Compare the education needed by a carpenter and by a farmer, that they may be good citizens and successful in making a living, and see how far they are the same and where they differ. What is needed by both may be regarded as general, while that needed by the one may be regarded as vocational. Compare in a similar way the education needed by a lawyer, a doctor, a mechanical engineer, and an architect, and judge as to what is general and what is vocational. Does each need to know anything of the work of the other? Why?

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES—ELEMENTARY

General character of elementary education. Elementary education, required by law in this country, usually extends from seven to fourteen years of age. In most places this education has been given in eight years of school work, although a few have nine years, and in some places, where the children are not admitted until seven years of age, the elementary course is covered in seven years. These eight years of work have been arranged with the idea of including what all children should learn in order to take their places as citizens.

As a matter of fact, statistics show that about half of the children leave school without having taken more than six years of the work outlined for the elementary schools. This condition is likely to continue for some time. Whatever knowledge or training it is necessary that all citizens should have must be provided in six years of the elementary course or a large number of persons will leave school without having received the education necessary to prepare them for the duties of the most humble citizen.

This truth must be recognized regardless of the claim that the course is already too full for the work to be done properly in the time required. Still further must we disregard the claim of the secondary schools that the children must be so prepared that they can effectively pursue the studies of the secondary course. Nothing must be required in the first six years of elementary

work that is useful only or chiefly to those who are to have a further education. Whatever is necessary for such children should be arranged for in grades beyond the sixth. The first six years of work must be devoted *exclusively* to the learning of what is necessary or of most value to *all* persons whatever their occupation may be and however far they may later carry their education. In the past, courses of study have been arranged chiefly with the idea that the elementary course must prepare for the secondary course and that for higher education. This idea must now be subordinated to that of social needs.

In planning the first six years of work, therefore, little or no account should be taken of what some of the children will do in the higher grades. The sole aim in planning the course of study should be to provide that which is most useful to all citizens of our Republic. This demands a careful study of the social life of to-day and the selection of study material with sole reference to its usefulness either in making a living or contributing to the fullness and joy of life.

General symbol knowledge, or reading and writing. The thing that is most needed by every one in this age is facility in the understanding and use of the symbols by means of which knowledge is preserved and communicated. The oral symbols of language are fairly well learned by native children before they enter school. Foreign children sometimes need to be taught them. The present policy of requiring all instruction to be given in English is absolutely essential to the preservation of our national unity. Only in this way is it possible to make one nation of the diverse peoples coming to our shores.

The written symbols of language are not usually known before the child reaches school. The most essential thing in learning this visual language is that ideas shall be associated with the visual forms so closely that the child can quickly get thought from the printed page. It is desirable but less essential that he should know the correspondence between visual and oral symbols so as to be able to pronounce the words that he sees. It is not at all essential that he should be able to read aloud fluently and effectively. The average person to-day reads silently a hundred times as much as he reads aloud. Facility in getting thought from the printed page is, therefore, the most important thing to be acquired in the first years of the elementary school. Some children attain facility in this respect six times as great as that of others.

Unfortunately, most of the methods of teaching reading have tended to make children read slowly rather than rapidly and to give more attention to the relation between letters and sounds than to the thoughts associated with the words. Phonics may help in oral reading, but they are a hindrance to rapid thought-getting.

Since a large part of what is to be learned to-day can be gained only through the medium of words, language ability performs the same function, comparatively speaking, as does the ability to use tools. The ability to write is of far less importance, but sufficient knowledge to read writing and to write with a reasonable degree of correctness and rapidity may be regarded as essential for all. The invention of typewriters and other mechanical means of reproducing print makes great skill in writing less important than formerly.

To express thought in visual form demands ability

to spell and to punctuate as well as to handle a pen. An unnecessary amount of time has doubtless been spent upon spelling. The average native adult citizen who has been through the grades knows by sight or sound ten or fifteen thousand words, but he rarely or never has occasion to write more than a fifth of that number. A person who knows how to spell three thousand common words, and who knows how to look up the spelling of words in the dictionary, has sufficient knowledge of spelling for the ordinary citizen's use. If the child learns punctuation by practice rather than by the study of rules, he can acquire practical efficiency in a very short time.

Economic education. In these days, when the means of subsistence and comfort are obtained almost wholly by indirect means through some form of economic activity instead of being secured directly from earth's resources, economic education is especially needed. In the elementary school this teaching should not have for its aim the purpose of preparing for economic effort, or, in other words, should not be vocational, but should enable the children to understand the economic processes by which the material needs of man are supplied. The child should be made familiar with the industries of his own community and also to some extent of other communities and countries and should learn of the ways in which commerce is carried on. Since money is the means of measuring the value of economic products and facilitating the exchange of one for another, much of the education in economics may be associated with a study of the uses of money. Every one should know something regarding the manner in which money is obtained and the ways in which it may most profitably be used. This of course requires some knowledge of num-

bers and some facility in making the calculations involved in various common business transactions. The fact that money cannot be used without counting and computing is the chief reason for the teaching of arithmetic in the elementary schools. It does not necessarily mean that the child during the first six years should attempt to gain a systematic knowledge of arithmetic *as a science*. It does mean that he should know more about the transactions with which numbers are concerned than most children do to-day.

It is not absolutely necessary that every individual should know a great many of the facts of numbers or be able to perform arithmetical operations with great rapidity. The average person spends very little time after he leaves school in arithmetical calculations as a necessary element in his daily life. He should, however, acquire a few facts of numbers, learn how to compute others mentally, and how to perform longer operations on paper. He should have some experience in performing many of the calculations which are common in his community. Special knowledge and skill in calculation may be provided later for those who need it.

The ability to compute constitutes only a small portion of the economic training needed by every one. Money represents a certain amount of effort expended and the possibility of satisfying various desires. The child frequently sees money being received and spent by others and he also has had some experience with it himself. Means should be taken to impress him with the truth as to the proper relations between work performed and money received and the kinds and amount of satisfaction that may be obtained in expending it in various ways.

Economic training in school may well begin with the study of the child's own actual and possible experiences with money. After a report as to how the children get money and how they spend it, various problems may be worked in discussing the question of how a boy or girl may best spend, say fifty cents a week. Each one may figure out how much this would be in a year and indicate just how much he thinks it would be well to use for different purposes.

If it is thought best that some of it should be saved for the future, the various ways of keeping money should be discussed and the comparative advantages of a toy bank, a savings bank, a coöperative bank, postal savings, and any other facilities for saving that are offered in the community, should be studied.

The child should also study the financial problems of his own home, finding the cost of various things and the weekly, monthly, or yearly cost of the amounts used. The advantages and disadvantages of renting as compared with owning a house, of keeping hens and cultivating a garden versus buying the products, of buying clothing ready-made or buying the material and making it, etc., etc. The children may also plan how a family with a certain income shall spend its money, making out with some detail the weekly budget.

In addition to this, the taxes paid by the father and the public expenditures in the community for schools, roads, and other purposes furnish good material for obtaining valuable economic and arithmetical training.

Some time may also be spent in discussing the problems and performing the mathematical operations required in various occupations of the neighborhood. In this connection the teacher should not fail to consider

the relative advantages of saving and buying for cash as compared with going in debt and buying on the installment plan.

Protective education. In connection with the economic training thus described, there will inevitably be gained some knowledge of the civic institutions concerned in protection against criminals, against fire, disease, and accident, and with the means by which mails are handled, roads kept in order, and water, sewer, and other conveniences furnished by the local and national governments.

Hygiene should receive attention that personal health may be preserved and that every citizen may coöperate in all movements for better health conditions in the neighborhood.

Questions of public interest to the community and to the state or nation should be discussed in school in order that the children may be better prepared for considering such questions when they become responsible members of society. Such teaching as this will be much more effective if it is associated with more or less public work on the part of the children in keeping the schoolhouse and grounds in good order and in providing healthful and pleasant conditions in the school and in the community. Every form of self-government in the schools also helps toward good citizenship.

Cultural education. The elementary-school pupil should become familiar not only with his economic and civic environment, but also with his natural environment. To this end he should make excursions in order to know the location of the important objects in the neighborhood and to observe plant and animal life more closely and understandingly. In other words, he should

study objects of nature, the industries, and the geography of his own neighborhood, and thus get a better knowledge of how all its natural advantages are utilized by individuals and groups of persons.

The studies thus far indicated are essential, but they lack breadth of view and illuminating contrast. In order to get this some time must be devoted to the geography and history of other places and peoples. In such studies emphasis should be laid upon facts and events that either contrast sharply with those of the home life or those that are connected with the life of the neighborhood and give a broader view from which to interpret its meaning. Instruction in these lines needs above all things to appeal to the imagination so that the children will mentally visit other parts of the earth and observe the actions of people of distant times and places. Just what facts are learned and remembered is of much less importance than that the pupils shall be broadened by means of this mediated experience with other lands and other people.

It is also desirable, as it always has been, that the young should become familiar with the previous history of the group to which they belong. No course in history can be satisfactory that does not give the child some knowledge of the persons and events that have been influential in bringing about the social conditions under which he is living.

As wide an interest as possible should be cultivated in art, science, literature, and music. This training should be chiefly to develop appreciation. Whatever is done in the way of production of artistic drawings, elegant writing, or pleasing music by the children, should not be done so much with the idea of making

them skillful in such production as with that of making them more appreciative of what good work in those lines really means. Children should be given frequent opportunities of hearing good music and seeing fine pictures for the sake of developing pleasurable appreciation and good taste. This will furnish, all their lives, a source of enjoyment and a stimulus to further development. Those who have talent or opportunity may later devote themselves to the production of artistic things. All should, however, receive some training that will help them to make themselves, their clothes, and their home surroundings more beautiful and pleasing.

Recreational and social education. It should be assumed that every one is to have some leisure, partly because he is more efficient when he does not work all the time and partly because the needs of his higher nature demand what is not obtained in work. Children should be taught by observation and experience not only what it means to work, but also what it means to rest and to play. They should be given experience in playing a great variety of games so that they will know how to spend their leisure time and how to help others engage in pleasurable activity.

In learning to play games the children will inevitably get a great deal of social training which will enable them to know how to react to other people and coöperate with them in the enjoyment of life. In addition to the social training thus obtained, children should also learn how to work with others for a common end as well as how to work by themselves. Group work should be provided as well as individual work, in such a way that each will contribute to a common result. This can be done with many of the subjects studied

and especially in all things that are done for the good of the school. Incidentally all the activities of the school will furnish opportunity for that form of social training indicated by the word politeness.

Moral and religious education. The moral training given during the elementary course should be almost entirely incidental. A few special lessons may be helpful in connection with general exercises, and history and literature may sometimes be taught with special reference to the formation of ideals of conduct and character. Much of the moral training, however, should come in connection with coöperative and properly regulated activities of work and play, in which each individual feels that in doing his part well, he is contributing to the success and pleasure of the entire group. In order that the moral training may be of the best character, a large proportion of the competitions carried on should be between groups rather than between individuals.

Religious training in this country must be carried on largely if not wholly by other institutions than the school. The fact that there are great differences in religious beliefs, and the sentiment in this country that no person should be interfered with in his choice and practice of religion, make it impossible to give religious instruction in our public schools. The most that the schools can do is to maintain respect for religion and religious exercises of all kinds and perhaps allow certain hours and credits for religious instruction given by representatives of the churches.

EXERCISES

1. Abandon entirely for the moment the idea that the purpose of studying any subject is to prepare for later school work of any kind, then do one or more of the following: (*a*) make a list of subjects that should be taught, to prepare for engaging in the community life of to-day, stating why they are valuable; or (*b*) tell just what and how much in some one subject should be taught because of the use that will be made of it by the children when they take their places as self-directing members of the community; or (*c*) make some research as to knowledge that is being used by the people of your community; e.g., how many and what words does every one need to know how to spell? or what facts of geography or history are necessary or helpful in reading the newspapers?
2. Discuss the comparative advantages to every one of being able to read well orally or to read silently with rapidity and good understanding, and the methods by which each form of ability may be secured.
3. Test the economic knowledge of fifth-grade children by asking how various articles are produced, their cost; the wages received in various occupations and ways of safe-keeping and investing money, with a view to learning how adequate present-day economic teaching is, and with the idea of determining how much arithmetical knowledge is necessary.
4. Similar studies of educational value may be made by asking where the money comes from that pays the fireman, the postman, etc.
5. Make a list of facts of geography and history you think that every one should know, then test a number of people and see whether all know them and if they suffer much inconvenience if they do not.
6. Ask the children of a sixth grade to write the names of all the games they know how to play, or of the songs,

pictures, or stories they like, or make plans for developing the appreciation of good literature, pictures, and music.

7. How can elementary-school children be given ideals and habits of moral action in the school?
8. How may religious education best be provided?

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY

Specialization. Looked at from the sociological point of view, elementary education is that which every one needs, while intermediate or secondary education is that given to those young people in the community who are so situated that they can have further training and who will probably engage in some form of occupation demanding more than ordinary knowledge and skill. They may also perhaps occupy a somewhat different social and civic position.

This intermediate and secondary education should occupy not less than two nor more than eight years. Heretofore in this country it has consisted chiefly of four years of high-school work. The indications now are that the grade work of two or three years formerly counted as elementary will be specialized and counted as intermediate, while high-school work in some places is being extended to include a portion of the education now given in colleges. It is also specialized according as the pupils are to have much or little further education and according to the occupation in which they are to engage. In general the age of pupils taking intermediate and secondary education is from about twelve to about eighteen.

In Germany general elementary education ends at about nine or ten years of age, after which work is arranged with reference to the additional education to be

received and the future vocation of the pupils. Those who are destined for occupations requiring only slight knowledge and skill, take a course which is completed at about fourteen years of age, while those who are to enter the more skilled industries take a course of study involving from seven to nine years of work, which work prepares them for entering the higher technology schools, while those preparing for the professions enter upon a nine years' course of study fitting them for university work.

As the courses are arranged in Germany, a pupil who has once entered upon any one of these three courses cannot change to either of the others without considerable inconvenience and loss of time. After he has completed one of them, it is almost impossible to get any other place in industrial, social, and civic life than that for which his course of study has prepared him.

In this country conditions have been quite different. Until recently the training given in intermediate and secondary schools was general in character, preparing for no special occupation or position in life, although leading more toward the professions than toward the industries. This was due largely to the fact that the secondary schools had to give proficiency in certain lines in order that their graduates might be admitted to college. This demand on the part of the colleges, being the only one strongly and clearly made upon the high schools, dominated all the work of the secondary schools. A very marked change has, however, taken place very recently in public sentiment, and now there is a very distinct and imperative demand not only that secondary schools shall provide the education called for

by colleges, but that they shall provide suitable training for the far larger group of young people who will never enter college. This demand has arisen partly because statistics have shown that only a small percentage of students go to college and partly because specialization has developed to such an extent that the need of special training for different occupations, industrial as well as professional, is felt more than ever before. It is becoming harder to obtain employment in any of the higher occupations unless one has had special preparation for it.

The special training demanded of every worker gives a high degree of efficiency in the industries, but it greatly limits the development of the individual. He must decide at an early age what he is to do and begin specializing preparatory to that work. Once settled in a given occupation, incentive and ambition must be very great if he takes the time to prepare himself for engaging in another occupation and taking another station in life. In this country conditions have been such that people who have not had special training could obtain employment and have the chance to show whether they could succeed. This has tended to induce the more able and ambitious individuals to try to better themselves by changing from one occupation to another. Probably few of the successful men of the passing generation have always been engaged in the same line of work. Many of them have changed a number of times and to occupations of a wholly different character from that in which they began.

The way in which the schools are conducted will have a great deal to do in the future with determining whether this condition of facility of change of occupa-

tion shall continue or whether we shall approach closer to the German system requiring early choice of occupation with careful training for it and very little possibility of successfully changing to another. Efficiency of production may seem to demand the German system, but the development of a high order of human beings in a democratic country would seem to urge that there should not be too early specialization nor too definite fixing of the occupation and position in life of our citizens.

In the seventh and eighth grades it is not too early to allow some specialization. Some of the work should be the same for all, but those who wish to do so should be allowed to specialize in commercial or industrial lines, while others may give more attention to general, scientific, or literary training.

The work of the high school should, however, be so arranged that pupils who have begun to specialize in one of these lines shall not find it difficult to take up work in another line. In order that this may be the case, school men must give up the idea, very common among them, that a certain sort of preparation is absolutely necessary in order that certain subjects may be profitably taken up. Experiments show that with a slight change in the method of treating subjects, the order in which they are pursued may be varied almost indefinitely without interfering with success. Arithmetic may precede geometry, but certain portions of it at least may just as well or better follow geometry, and a student who has had no algebra does not necessarily have any special difficulty with geometry. For a similar reason the boy who has studied commercial arithmetic may be just as well prepared for algebra as the

boy who has studied mensuration in connection with manual training, while both of these individuals, without formal grammar, may be able to take up German, Latin, or French nearly as well as the literary student. If practical equivalents of subjects and variability in order of taking them are recognized, then children will not be compelled to continue a course upon which they have entered, but may change to one that is better suited to their interests and abilities. In so doing they may lose something in continuity, but they gain in breadth and variety. The problem of teaching in the same class pupils who have been differently trained, presents some difficulties, but difficulties that no wide-awake teacher, who studies the individuality of his pupils, will find great trouble in overcoming.

If high schools are so organized that any pupil may be admitted to any course in the high school, regardless of how he specialized in the grades, we shall have an educational system favoring later choice and greater freedom of change, while if we put difficulties in the way of changing from one line of specialization to another, by insisting that certain subjects must be taken preparatory to entering upon certain courses, we shall assist, by our educational system, in bringing about the condition that exists in Germany, where occupations must be chosen early, and rarely, if ever, changed.

General and vocational education. Until recently the public schools attempted to give no vocational training whatever. Now it is generally admitted that specialization of industries demands such training more than ever before and that it is being given by the home and by the apprentice system less than formerly. The

school, the chief educational institution, must therefore take up the work of vocational education. Intermediate and secondary schools must perform this function for a large proportion of the people, because only a few, comparatively, take the higher education.

The general book education of the schools has been so different from the vocational education demanded by the industries that unless the work of the present secondary schools is greatly modified and extended, a new type of schools must be established. Some have advocated the establishment of an entirely separate system of vocational schools. It is claimed that to introduce vocational studies unduly complicates the problem of secondary schools, and, moreover, that vocational education will necessarily be inefficient because the teachers have all been trained in scholastic rather than industrial lines.

There is truth in these claims, but other things must also be considered. Those individuals who take occupational training for work above that of the common laborer need more general education than is provided by the elementary schools. They need it as a condition for success in their occupation, in order to know how to spend their leisure time profitably, and in order to take their proper position in the community as semi-leaders. Such general education will not be given in vocational schools taught by those who have been trained in the vocations only. If other teachers are employed, the work of the schools giving general education will be duplicated.

Again, if the schools for vocational education and the secondary schools for general education are entirely separate, neither students nor teachers will have much

chance for associating with those of the other type of schools and learning of the work that they do and how it is being done. This will increase the tendency to specialization, make it difficult for an individual to change from one type of education to another, and make more prominent the distinction between different classes of people. The teachers in one system of schools will continue to be scholastic and impractical and in the other practical and uncultured.

The immediate results of separate vocational schools would perhaps be better so far as the vocational training is concerned, but the more remote results upon pupils and teachers and as regards general social conditions would probably be unfortunate. The ends desired in secondary education, of giving some individuals a good deal of general education and some practical education and others a good deal of practical, vocational education and some general or cultural education, can better be accomplished by correlated school and community life than by special kinds of schools conducted with little reference to the life of the community.

One of the best ways of accomplishing this is by having pupils engage in occupations of the community before they leave school, or by having them go to school after they have taken up some occupation. The first method is represented by practical-arts schools and by part-time schools, and the second, by evening and continuation schools. Both are valuable, but the most promising line of development in this country at present is probably that of practical-arts and part-time schools.

In the practical-arts school as it is now developing, things are done not for the sake of practice in doing,

as in the old-time manual-art and trade school, but because there is a need that the things shall be done. Besides doing things about the institution that are needed, things of economic value are made and used or sold. This gives a motive and reality to work that mere practice does not. Care must be exercised, however, to see that the economic idea shall not overshadow the educational. Such a school cannot be entirely self-supporting and the educational side will suffer if there is an attempt to make it so. The idea should be kept in mind that it is primarily a school in which education is obtained by doing real things and that it is only secondarily an economic institution.

The part-time school inevitably means a close correlation between the schools and the industries of the community. The managers of the industries of the community must however favor such a union of industrial practice with school instruction or the schools cannot establish part-time courses successfully. The chief change demanded in the industries is, that two persons shall be employed instead of one for each kind of work. One will work either a half-day or a week, then the other will take his place the rest of the day or the next week. In school, each one, during the period when he is not at work, will receive certain general training and some special training connected with the occupation in which he is engaged. For the younger pupils in the less skilled occupations the half-day plan is probably better, while for older pupils and the more difficult vocations, the weekly plan is more feasible and perhaps as good.

One of the advantages of this system over that of establishing trade schools is, that the schools are saved

the very great expense of providing the shops and machinery necessary to practical training in many of the trades. There is a good deal of difference also in the mental attitude and effort of students who are actually engaged in an occupation as compared with those who are carrying on shop practice in preparation for actual work. There is also the economic advantage that persons of small means can, by means of the half-time system, obtain much more education than they can by the other system in which they have no opportunity to earn anything.

Great care must be taken, however, in conducting a part-time system of vocational education, that the educational idea shall be more prominent than that of getting immediate economic results. If such schools are dominated by the economic idea, the school work is made secondary to the industry and the chief aim in the industry is to get as large a product as possible, regardless of the effect upon the workers. This may result in having the pupils confined to one kind of work instead of being changed from one process to another, and it may also result in their spending so much time in shop and in school that they have not sufficient time for play and for general physical and mental development.

From the standpoint of pedagogy the advantages of the part-time system are considerable. There is not only a greater interest in both kinds of work if they are properly correlated, but, as recent studies show, there is much greater saving of energy when principles and practice are brought close together than when they are gained separately.

General and vocational courses. Every community should provide both vocational and general culture edu-

cation so far as possible, to meet the needs of all the young people of the community. The vocational training required differs greatly with the locality. The general culture education needed in all sections of this country is more similar. It is of the same type as that given in the elementary schools, but more extensive.

The problem of providing without too great expense for the various forms of vocational education that may be needed, and for different cultural interests, is not so difficult in the large cities as in the smaller communities. Without employing too many teachers or requiring each teacher to deal with too great a variety of subjects, it is possible in the cities to provide for all, including those who expect to take higher education.

In the smaller communities the difficulties are considerably greater. If a great many courses are offered, either many teachers will be needed or one teacher must teach many subjects. The local community may more easily provide for the vocational than for the general education, because that can usually be connected with the local industries, and by proper coöperation between the schools and the directors of these industries, and the utilization of the technical training and natural ability of some of the leading workers as assistants to the regular teachers, the necessary training can be given to all who expect to work in those industries. If pupils wish to engage in an industry not carried on in the community it is better that they should go to some center for that industry for their training.

All who are taking secondary education should have some general and cultural training, while those who are to receive a higher education will spend most of their time on general culture subjects. All should be given

some work of that kind which will give them permanent interests, helping them to know how to spend their leisure moments, rendering them more appreciative of culture of all kinds and more helpful to the community life in various ways.

Those who are to have a higher education not only need this, but, according to the present demands of colleges and schools of technology, they must have special preparation for the studies that they are to take up later. Since those who receive a higher education are likely to be useful to a larger group of people than that of their own community, there is good ground for saying that such education should be provided and controlled as much or more by the state than by the local community. There is considerable reason, therefore, for the establishment of central high schools preparing for college entrance, to which pupils from the smaller communities may go. In the larger school thus formed, the variety of courses demanded may be given without excessive expense. In the case of large cities it may be more economical for the local high schools not only to give a high-school education, but also that of the first year or two of college.

Since those who have a secondary education, whether they receive a higher education or not, are likely to form an influential portion of the community, it is important not only that they have the vocational training enabling them to make a living, but that they shall have such training as will enable them also to take part in all the higher forms of coöperation and regulation of conduct for economic, protective, recreative, social, cultural, moral, and educational ends.

In order that this may be the case, the training must

be idealistic as well as practical. They must not only understand the life of to-day and be prepared to contribute to that of the future, but they must also have their ideals and their conduct formed and regulated by the best of the past. Under present conditions, scientific studies are becoming increasingly more useful in the industries and in social life, but science is in its very nature more or less destructive of authority and tradition. Hence there is a need for another kind of training than that given by science only. The languages are all based on custom and for the rules given in them there is no other ultimate reason than usage. The study of language has therefore considerable influence in developing respect for authority and the habit of conformity to usage. This is perhaps the chief distinctive function of linguistic education.

History and literature, dealing as they do with human acts, interests, and ideals, have a distinct place in cultural training. They broaden the view and stimulate to the formation of ideals of beauty and of conduct. The study of the various arts has a similar influence. In connection with all of these subjects there is more or less incidental training favorable to the regulation of conduct morally. This is especially true when the fundamental principles of civics are taken up in connection with the study of history and of the life of the community.

Incidental training in morals is not, however, sufficient. The youth needs more direct instruction in the principles of moral conduct. This is especially true now that he does not so readily accept the teaching of authority and the traditions of his elders. There is more and more a tendency on the part of young people to ques-

tion regarding moral regulations, and they need to be shown just why certain forms of conduct have bad effects upon the individual and upon the social group to which he belongs. This special study of the principles of ethics should not be a purely theoretical and scholastic subject, but one dealing with practical problems of personal, family, community, and national life.

Closely associated with such study there should be something in the way of social training. The ideals and practices of social conduct are in process of forming, and at no other time are individuals so ready to conform to the customs of the group to which they belong. High schools should, therefore, give a good deal of attention to the social affairs of their pupils. This attention should not be chiefly of the negative kind, in which certain kinds of action are prohibited, but positive, with older people of the school and of the community taking part, helping to make the occasions pleasant and suggesting the forms of conduct that should be followed by young men and women.

To give the training needed for the present day much more time needs to be devoted to the study of human activities and the materials used in such studies must be greatly changed. History must be entirely transformed from what it has been, largely a study of wars and warriors, into a study of the history of civilization and of the principles of sociology and of civics. The new types of leaders in science, industry, commerce, and social service must take the place of warriors as the heroes of modern life and of a civilization of peace and progress. Recent and present activities of men and women active in the world's work must receive more attention and more time must be spent in study-

ing local affairs. Since intelligent coöperative action is becoming an increasingly important factor in every phase of human activity, the principles and institutions concerned in successful coöperation must be studied by secondary pupils and the results of the study applied to community life and to public questions of to-day.

EXERCISES

1. Should a pupil who has begun to specialize in one line, such as manual arts, be required to continue that work in the high school or may he be permitted to change to literary, classical, scientific, or commercial courses? Why? May pupils from these various courses be taught in the same classes effectively? How?
2. Make a study of the men of your community and see how many of the successful ones have always followed the same vocation and how many have changed one or more times.
3. Is it desirable that all men should be trained for a special vocation, then follow it permanently, or that they should have experience in several?
4. It is becoming harder for persons to secure employment without special training for the work. Should the schools increase the difficulty by discouraging change from one course to another? or should they decrease it by facilitating such changes?
5. Summarize the arguments for and against separate secondary schools for general and for vocational training.
6. What are the advantages of part-time schools, and might they have a value for general as well as vocational education and for children under fourteen?
7. What are the advantages of making high-school pupils familiar with the life and literature of ancient Greece and Rome? Of making them familiar with the older English literature? Of making them familiar with the literature and the community life of to-day? Should

pupils have only one of these subjects or a little of all, with special emphasis on one?

8. Summarize and compare the advantages of science and language studies.
9. Should some or all high-school pupils have some teaching in sociological and ethical as well as civic studies? Why?
10. Look up various histories to find the one that devotes least space to war and suggest further possible improvements in it.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES—HIGHER

Development and dominance of higher education. In all civilized countries higher education was provided for the few several centuries before there was much provision made for elementary and secondary education for the many. The abler individuals demanded opportunities for education and were able to get their demands granted. In the autocratic society of past centuries leaders needed an education, while for the great mass of people it was not thought necessary and many rulers considered it undesirable.

So long as these leaders formed a distinct class with honors and privileges rather than duties and obligations, the results of education were limited, but with the growth of democracy those having higher education have become in a broader sense leaders of the people and disseminators of culture. Educational improvement has been largely from the top downward to the secondary and elementary schools. There is always, however, a tendency for educational processes to lag behind industrial and social progress; hence, by the time an improvement in higher education has modified secondary and elementary education it is likely to be a good way behind, besides being not well suited to all the classes for which it is provided. Until recently higher education was designed for the professional classes only, but now it is taken by many who engage in the industries and in commerce.

The modern higher education can only be understood by going back to its modern beginning about four hundred years ago. Immediately following the Renaissance there was a very marked development of skilled workmen in a great many different lines. These workmen formed guilds and took measures to partially standardize the skill of workers in gold, silver, and other lines. Every one was required to work as an apprentice under the direction of a skilled worker until he attained sufficient knowledge to be able to carry on the work without direction, when he attained the rank of journeyman. If he gained such knowledge and skill as to be able to plan work to be done by journeymen, he was known as a master workman.

So prominent was this guild system, and so distinct was the field of learning from that of the industries, that when institutions of higher learning were formed a guild of scholars was established. The bachelor's degree marked the ending of the apprentice stage in scholarship; the master's degree signalized the attainment of journeymanship; while the doctor's degree was given to those who were able to do original work and direct or teach others.

The guild of scholars is the only one that has survived in approximately its original form down to the present time, and the degrees given by colleges and universities are supposed to have much of the same significance that they formerly had. This is true in spite of the fact that higher education has been greatly extended and modified in many ways. Universities still prepare for the professions of law, medicine, and theology, and to an increasing extent for teaching.

The greatest change has come through the wonder-

ful development of science in the last few centuries, which has broadened the field of knowledge immensely and has made science an important part of the training for all the professions and industries. Our higher institutions now offer so many different courses of study that if a single individual took all of them he would need several centuries in which to complete his education. This fact and the further fact that higher education is now needed by leaders in all the industries, including that of commerce, make it utterly impossible that our higher educational institutions shall be chiefly workshops for a guild of scholars. This does not mean that such a guild no longer has a place of usefulness in civilized society. There is a distinct place in every nation for leaders who are interested in non-utilitarian affairs. We must look to the idealist for the stimulus to new achievements and to a higher spiritual as well as a material civilization. A guild of scholars may help to develop such leaders.

It may be that the giving of degrees after the completion of a certain amount and kind of scholastic work is the best means of preserving such a guild and of promoting the development of idealistic leaders; but, however that may be, there can be no justification for claiming that all lines of higher education should be directed in accordance with the same scholastic system. It is time for those engaged in higher education to consider the situation as it exists to-day and to strive to supply a higher education of the kind needed by those seeking it in order that they may be efficient leaders in the lines of work in which they engage.

Scholastic standards versus usefulness. All who are taking a higher education need a more advanced

general education than that of the secondary schools and also special training for particular vocations. In this country the general education should be given in the first two or three years of college work, which in reality corresponds to a portion of the secondary education of other countries. The last year or two of college and the graduate courses in the universities should be recognized as the period when general education should largely cease and the training become almost wholly vocational.

It is desirable in this country that the final choice of occupation for those who take a higher education should be left open through most of the college course, or at least that it should not be difficult for one to make a new choice.

The number of subjects offered in higher institutions of learning is now very great, and there is a good deal of option allowed the individual student as to which he shall take and in what order, but the scholastic ideal still plays a large part in college-entrance and graduation requirements. More effort is expended in determining who shall be admitted to college, and who shall graduate, and in giving artificial value to degrees, than in trying to give what will be of most value to the different classes of students in the most efficient way. Elaborate means are taken to exclude from the chances of a higher education those who have not had a certain kind and amount of training in the secondary schools, and in testing and preventing those who do enter from graduation until they have done a certain amount of work. In accordance with the scholastic ideal such studies as Latin and mathematics have been assumed as necessary to all who are to receive a higher educa-

tion. This may be true for those who are to join the guild of scholars, although even of that one may have doubts, but that it is true for all those individuals who are preparing to enter the professions and the industries, there is no evidence.

University extension classes and summer schools have proved beyond a doubt that a great many persons who cannot meet college-entrance requirements are able to profit by the subjects offered in higher institutions of learning. In most higher institutions such persons are either not permitted to enter even as special students, to get what they can from the courses offered without asking for a degree, or if they are permitted to enter, are made to feel that they can never be the equals of those who take a regular course.

It may be admitted that the guild of scholars has a right to protect itself by the maintenance of standards of scholarship, but there is no justification whatever for the domination of this guild of scholars over all the higher education, and to a considerable extent also over the secondary education, of a large number of persons who do not wish to enter the guild, but who do wish a higher education, and who would profit by it and become thereby more efficient members of society. This is especially true of state universities supported at public expense. Any one who can profit by the work offered in such institutions should be permitted to take it. They, at least, should certainly not be run as "closed shops."

It may be necessary that those seeking degrees from the scholastic guild should be graded in their work, but this is no reason why students who are taking work because of its value or interest to them should be graded,

or why their teachers should spend a large part of their time in examining and grading them instead of teaching them. If the custom of giving degrees except to classical students were dropped, there would be little or no occasion for marking other students. Each teacher should have the privilege of excluding any student from his class whose work is so inefficient that he is gaining little from the course and who is interfering with the work of others. He should also know his students well enough to advise them as to future work.

A certificate might be given each student stating what work he had taken. Under this arrangement there would be no artificial standards of scholarship to maintain. Each pupil would take that which was most interesting to him or which he thought would be most useful, while each teacher would try to make his courses as valuable as possible. A certificate stating what courses had been taken in a given institution would then perhaps become more significant than are the degrees now given by that institution.

The very fact that examinations are given and every student is graded on his work tends also to modify the teaching in order that it may be easier to mark the attainments of students. The English university man who objected to the introduction of English literature into the course, because it is impossible to grade accurately the work in that subject, was entirely logical if the scholastic ideal of maintaining definite standards is to be carried out. A course in English literature, dominated by the ideal of accurately measuring what the students obtain from the course, can scarcely be of very great cultural value. The same may be said of many other subjects.

The two ideals of culture and of scholastic tests and standards are opposed to each other. There is good ground for saying that if the same effort were made to develop permanent cultural interests in persons taking secondary and higher education that there is in maintaining scholastic standards by means of the marking system, the results would be a larger proportion of leaders with non-utilitarian interests and ideals. This would certainly be true of those who do not take the scholastic courses, and would probably be true of those who do, because in their case the marking system directs the attention to the mechanics of language instead of toward the finer beauties of thought and expression.

The relative importance of the various types of leaders in the world's work to-day has changed so much that higher education should no longer be dominated by ideals and practices originating at a time when scholastic leaders were the most prominent members of society. It may be claimed that the scholastic guild, by maintaining degree and college-entrance requirements, is doing a service to the nation by making it necessary that leaders in all the industries and professions shall study some non-utilitarian subjects and develop idealistic interests that will counteract the tendency of the age toward materialism and utilitarianism.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that a large number who would otherwise take a higher education are prevented from so doing and many others take the required subjects under protest. The wisdom of this procedure is best tested by the results. If the majority of those who take the non-utilitarian subjects under compulsion, and some who take them by choice, never

develop any permanent interest in them under the scholastic system, that system is not justified.

Where there is an elective system the classical studies should be put on the same plane with other courses and subjects, with no artificial advantages other than those they gain by having been for many generations the leading subjects taught. No students should be compelled to take them in order to get into college or in order to take any other subject that he wishes. The teachers of those subjects should be placed on the same plane as teachers of the other subjects, having the opportunity to demonstrate that they are interesting and valuable without any direct or indirect coercion in their favor. Special privileges should not be given to subjects any more than to persons. The only thing required of any one taking a higher cultural education should be that he has studied with a reasonable degree of industry and efficiency and that he can probably profit from the further education which he desires.

In the case of vocational education more definite requirements may be made, as experience has shown that certain subjects of study are necessary to certain vocations and certain preparation is necessary in order to take those studies profitably.

Tests of the results of general and vocational education. In both cultural and vocational education it is desirable to have some means of measuring results. In vocational education the ultimate test is the success of the students who have taken certain courses of study supposed to prepare them for their work. Other standard tests of what they know of certain subjects and especially of what they can do in certain lines may be devised, which will help the student to know how well

he is prepared for the work in which he is to engage, and as a guide to the teacher in giving further training and in advising as to further study.

In general education standard tests may be developed in some subjects, but to a considerable extent the best results of higher cultural education are indicated by interest aroused rather than the passing of tests. The best measure of interest is the amount of effort put forth in pursuing the subject. This is indicated partly by the amount of reading and studying done and by the amount of productive work in the way of scientific research, and literary, musical, or dramatic compositions.

The quantity of work of this kind can be measured, but the only measure of quality is the appreciation of those to whom the production is submitted, not only the teacher in charge, but fellow students and sometimes the general public. One of the best tests of what one has obtained from a general culture subject is found in trying to pass on to some one else its benefits. Students in the higher institutions should, therefore, be given as many opportunities as possible for doing university extension work and for contributing to the cultural activities of the community.

It is doubtful whether the cause of general and cultural education in higher institutions is ever favored by compulsory requirements. If a subject is generally useful or is calculated to arouse a permanent cultural interest, skillful teachers should be employed who will demonstrate that fact to the student body and to the general public. Although it may be admitted that English, the most commonly required subject in secondary and higher education, is valuable in an increas-

ing degree to leaders in all lines of life to-day, still it may be questioned whether better results would not follow if teachers of English had to demonstrate this fact instead of merely having to give the required course to those who must take it.

A knowledge of sociological problems and of the fundamentals of all the sciences is overwhelmingly important to-day as compared with its value in former times. The productive value of such information may be quite limited for most individuals, but all, especially the leaders, need a broad, appreciative knowledge, in the light of which they will be able to understand all movements for increasing industrial efficiency, improving public health, promoting mental and social hygiene, developing efficient civic life, and increasing educational facilities. Emphasis should be placed upon these subjects, not by requiring students to take them and putting them in charge of poorly prepared teachers, but by offering every encouragement possible to teachers who will demonstrate their interest and value.

In general we may say that every desirable form of education may best be provided, not by force, but by furnishing the best possible facilities for that kind of education and giving it a fair chance to demonstrate its value to students and to society in general.

Higher vocational education. The number of persons of all classes now attending college is so great and the education given so general in character that much of it may be classed with secondary education. The amount of post-graduate work has greatly increased, and it is now taken not only by those preparing for the professions, but by many specialists in engineering and other lines. In some instances the time required for

college and graduate work is being shortened by specialization, during the last year or two of collegiate work, in the direction of a vocation. In most vocational schools of the higher type the course has been lengthened for those who are not college graduates. This is made necessary because those engaged in the higher vocations to-day need more general education and more technical training than ever before. Besides this lengthened course for the higher vocations there is often required a period of practice in a hospital, a law office, an industrial or other establishment, according to the course taken, before the individual is considered fully prepared for his work.

Since graduate students are expected to become independent workers and directors of the work of others, it is desirable not only that they shall be broadly instructed and well trained, but that they shall possess initiative and be able to strike out in new lines. There is good reason, therefore, for having graduate students brought into close touch with original research and that they themselves shall make some original investigations.

It is well also that many of them should make research work their vocation. Nothing can be of greater advantage to a nation than research and invention. The scientific discoverer and inventor of to-day is more powerful and useful to his country than was the warrior-priest leader of more primitive times, and his work is, almost without exception, of permanent advantage to his people and to the whole world. Warrior and political leaders may work for themselves rather than for the people and leave behind them customs and laws that are on the whole a disadvantage. Great artists, writers,

and philosophers may be of much value to a nation, but such men are less the product of education than are scientific investigators, and their methods are less useful to others. Education may, however, do much to insure that the work of great captains of industry and finance and of great political leaders and statesmen may be successful, and that it may promote public welfare instead of furthering selfish ends.

As was shown in an earlier chapter, leaders are the important factor in all social progress; hence one of the most important functions of the school is to discover and train those who will be able to direct their followers in right lines and induce them to coöperate effectually. The colleges and universities are supposed to be especially responsible for the development of leaders, but to be successful they must have the coöperation of the lower schools. If the lower schools have required simply obedient following of directions and have discouraged independence and originality, some with the qualities of leaders will have dropped out and others will come to the universities with no training in initiative. This consideration justifies educators not only in emphasizing original research in the universities, but in encouraging initiative and originality in the lower schools. This can best be done by sending teachers into colleges, normal schools, and high schools, imbued with the spirit of investigation and able to teach their pupils according to the methods used in scientific research.

In artistic, literary, and industrial lines something may be done toward developing leaders with initiative by having pupils confronted with real problems which they are responsible for solving, instead of requiring

them to practice according to directions given them. Many of the qualities of leadership are inherited rather than acquired, but education may do much to develop leaders by training and by encouraging instead of suppressing independent and original effort.

EXERCISES

1. To what extent is the influence of higher education in lower schools of advantage to them? Will the making of a course of study for an elementary or a high school, suited to the needs of the community in which it is located, without reference to the requirements of college, improve the school in all respects, or will it result in decreased interest in education, decreased stimulus to effort, and the pursuit of less valuable studies? Why?
2. Would it be a good thing if some colleges adhered closely to the classic education, while others ignored it entirely, instead of giving the classics artificial advantages and prominence, but all the time making concessions to modern demands as most of them do? What would be the effect of giving degrees for high-grade work in the classics, and giving no degrees, but allowing perfect freedom in all other lines?
3. Look up the history of the guilds and of the universities and trace their influence in modern education.
4. Collect estimates of the percentage of time spent by the administrative, clerical and teaching force of colleges in labor that grows out of the system of marks and degrees. What is gained by such labor? Is the teaching better because the teachers mark pupils on their work or is it not so good? Do the pupils work harder and by better methods? Does the system develop in students interest, responsibility, and initiative to a greater extent than would be the case if the whole time of the teacher were devoted to making the work interesting and useful to the student?

5. Could the freedom that is allowed in taking summer-school courses be extended to the regular college work, or is more gained by encouraging all summer-school pupils to work for credits and degrees as in the regular work of the college?
6. In what subjects can the valuable results of teaching be most accurately tested and in what subjects are accurate tests least possible?
7. Should all studies in college be given an equal chance and the fittest, as determined by the number that take them, be allowed to survive? Why? How could this be done? Might some subjects disappear in some schools and become very prominent in others? Would this be objectionable or would it be a good thing for colleges to specialize in making certain lines of education very strong? If teachers were expected to make their subjects attractive to students, would there be danger that education would become superficial, or if neither easy nor hard courses led to a degree, would students choose substantial rather than superficial ones? Whatever the majority did, would not all get what they desired, whether it were temporary pleasure or permanent value?
8. Make up a list of prominent discoverers, inventors, artists, writers, political and commercial leaders of admitted originality, and see how many of them had special school training in the line of their success and how many had no such training.
9. Give suggestions as to how leadership may be promoted by the schools.

CHAPTER XV

THE FAMILY AS A SOCIAL GROUP AND AS AN INSTITUTION

The smallest unspecialized social group. The family group has all the needs and engages in all the activities of larger groups such as the community and the nation. It constitutes an economic and protective unit, provides variety of social intercourse, gives opportunity for play, has its own cultural material, its own code of morals and its religious beliefs and exercises, and it is one of the most important educational institutions. Every phase of social behavior is more completely represented in this small group than in any larger group or in the various groups formed for special purposes.

The above statements hold, with slight exceptions, for family life in all ages and in all parts of the world. Such could not be the case if the family were a purely artificial creation. The family is primarily a biological and psychological group that has grown into a social institution. Families as biological units are common in the animal world, but are generally much less permanent than in the human species. This is due primarily to the comparatively long and helpless infancy of the young of man. The instinct to care for the young is correspondingly strong and permanent in human parents, especially in the mother. Social and imitative instincts tend to prolong family unity beyond the time made necessary by biological conditions. The instincts of ownership and of jealousy help to keep the husband

and wife together, and the father is more surely kept with the group if his protection is needed and if his pleasures are increased by the mother and children. The social instincts of companionship, and of leadership and sympathy, and the tendency to submit to a leader, all have free play in the family group and help to prolong its existence.

The family as an institution. The above biological and psychological considerations show why family groups exist and remain more or less permanent. Among all peoples, with few and partial exceptions, the family has also been made into a social institution. The fact that family groups naturally exist has led to social regulations defining, preserving, and controlling the family. These regulations were primarily the outgrowth of more or less unconsciously formed customs. No doubt individuals of strong personality, who took active measures to preserve their own family groups, were influential in producing more conscious regulation of family life. This led to the common recognition that each man was entitled to special rights, privileges, and authority in his family that he did not have in other families and that other men did not have in his family. Each man was also held responsible for the actions of other members of his family and for the care of them. Such development as this made the biological group into the social institution, with which was associated commonly recognized customs and rules.

Marriage customs. The change to more conscious and intentional regulation of the family as an institution came in connection with the formation of new families, or, in other words, with marriage and its recognition as an institution. Among even the lowest

savages the mating instinct is not given free play, but there are more or less clearly recognized and strictly enforced regulations regarding the matings of young people.

They must or may not mate with certain clans or gens or with relatives or members of their own tribes. Among the aborigines of Australia and other places the regulations as to required or permissible marriage were so complex that it was a long time before they were comprehensible to students of marriage customs. In other tribes the regulations are few and simple, but everywhere there is some sort of a ceremony that is recognized as marriage and some regulation of marriage by the elders of the community. In many places, especially in the Orient, the young people themselves do not choose a mate, even within the permitted class, but marriage is arranged entirely by the heads of their families. In some places the property idea dominates, and wives must be purchased of the father or the bride must bring a dowry to her husband. In other cases property has less to do with marriage arrangements than family, position, tradition, and relationship. In all such cases the desires of the young people are considered of secondary importance or perhaps of no significance whatever.

Religion often has much to do with marriage. This is especially true when the religion consists to a greater or less extent of some form of ancestor worship. The idea of gods as associated with certain localities also has a similar influence upon marriage. In many instances, as among the ancient Greeks and Romans and the Chinese, the father was the priest of the family and made offerings to the god of his ancestors and of

the region in which he lived. Each man must have a son to perform the proper religious ceremonies after his death. When a new family was formed by marriage, one party must adopt the religion of the family to which the other belonged. This led to marriage ceremonies that were distinctly religious in character.

In countries where there were distinct classes of people who did not intermarry with each other, and where marriage meant the initiation of one of the parties, usually the woman, into the worship of the special gods of the family to which the other party belonged, an extraordinary importance was attached to marriage and to the family. The family, with its gods, its traditions, and its position in the community, was to be preserved at any cost. The whole life of the individual was regulated by the family, and his personal desires in marriage as well as in every other sphere of life were of little significance in comparison with the supposed good or honor of the family. A Japanese who had no family was an outcast. On the other hand, a member of a noble family would unhesitatingly give up his life or sacrifice himself in any way for his family's good.

Christianity, although recognizing only one God, has sanctioned marriage and marriage ceremonies, and has usually insisted, as do many religions, that a marriage shall be permanent.

Varieties of the family. The typical family consists of one man, one woman, and several children. The two sexes are nearly equal in numbers, and each individual instinctively seeks a mate, and thus the natural condition is that of monogamy. With very few exceptions the majority of families among all peoples have been of

this type, although among a number of them families of other types are sanctioned by social usage.

The union of one man with several wives constitutes a type of family recognized in many places. This form is technically known as "polygyny," though "polygamy" is commonly used instead. (This is not accurate, since polygamy means merely much married, and hence may refer to either man or woman.) Many families of this type cannot, however, exist among a people, unless there is a temporary surplus of women due to their capture in war or to the deaths of many men through warfare, without causing a large number of men to be left without mates. Polygyny is most frequently due to the influence of warrior leaders. They assume the right to many wives and give the privilege to their relatives and helpers, or perhaps to any one who can provide for them. In some instances the wives, instead of having to be provided with food, relieve the husband of the need of providing it even for himself. In that case it is all the more necessary that he shall be a strong or privileged person in order that he may maintain his claim to several wives against those who have none.

Polyandry, in which one woman has several husbands, is a much rarer type of family. It probably exists only where there are special conditions favoring it, as, for instance, in Thibet, where many of the men are away a considerable part of the year, herding. Usually the several husbands are brothers and whichever brother is at home is for the time being the principal husband.

The above are the three typical forms of families, but there are other temporary or semi-family groups. In some places there is a condition known as group

marriage, promiscuity or communism, or there may be temporary matings without permanent distinction between family groups. In such cases food, no matter how obtained, is often regarded as belonging equally to all and not especially to the individual who provided it or to his wife and children. The best form of this type of life is, perhaps, found among some tribes of Esquimaux. The smallest social unit that can best survive in the regions in which they live is larger than that of a single family. There is no economic necessity that a woman and her children shall stay with her husband, or that he shall protect and provide for them, since they are all free to use whatever there is in the community. Under these conditions there is, however, little communism or promiscuity, but many of the matings are temporary. This is true among all people where marriage is not socially regulated, especially by religion. Nature preserves the family group for a while, but when children do not need protection the group is frequently broken up unless there are social regulations that help to preserve it.

Of the three principal types of the family, monogamy prevails in all civilized countries. Besides the reasons given above for that type of family being found in all grades of civilization, there are other reasons for its survival among more highly developed people. One reason is that it results usually in the birth of more children, and always in their better care, than do other systems, except under special temporary conditions. A group of people practicing promiscuity, polygyny or polyandry, could not, therefore, survive in competition with one practicing monogamy. Another reason is that a family furnishes better conditions for the development

of the higher social and intellectual qualities. There are, therefore, biological, sociological, and psychological reasons why the people practicing monogamy have survived as the strongest and most civilized.

Closely associated with regulation of marriage and the typical kinds of families are the customs regarding heredity and family relationship. In most civilized countries persons are recognized as being related through either parent, but more importance is usually attached to heredity in the male line. Among some tribes, however, heredity is counted only through the males, while in others it is counted only through the females. One is called the patriarchal and the other the matriarchal system. The first would seem naturally to be more frequently associated with polygyny or with the idea of the priestly character of the father, while the second would seem to be more appropriate to polyandry, communism, or temporary unions. Although this seems a reasonable explanation of the origin of these customs, yet proof is lacking and the facts show that there may be cross-relationships. The North American Indians, for example, practice polygyny to some extent, and yet count heredity through the mother.

The socializing influence of the family. Family life inevitably exerts a very great socializing influence upon its members. Even in our individualistic country this influence is profound. When two young people marry, identify their interests, and live in close companionship, each, if the relation is to be agreeable, must act not merely to please himself, but the other party to the alliance. In other forms of association one sort of adjustment is made with one person and another with another person or group of people, but in marriage

there is a more complete and varied adjustment of many phases of life to each other's needs and a more complete unifying of all interests.

When children are born their welfare usually becomes the dominant motive for action, and whatever is proposed is decided largely with reference to the good of the children. The mother must continually sacrifice her desires for their welfare and the father must modify his action because of them and on account of the changed conduct of the mother. Both feel a responsibility that they never felt for themselves or for each other and regulate their conduct accordingly. The children are at first absolutely helpless, and the parents must care for them or they will die. Later they must be properly dressed and trained or they will be an annoyance and a disgrace to the parents. So long as family obligations are recognized in the community, they cannot be ignored by individuals.

The effect of family life upon children is still more profound. They feel their absolute dependence upon adults and respond to the expression of their love. They receive their first lessons in regulating their conduct from parents and have as their first companions the other members of the family. The child's health is guarded and his intelligence, tastes, morals, and religious impulses are stimulated and directed by the home life, as would not be possible in a larger group or in a group of one age and sex with no special love for and obligations toward him. Family life with its close common interests necessarily means regulation of the individual.

If family life and family obligations were all abolished, there would result an extreme individualism in

which each individual would recognize no permanent obligation to any one else. Each would act according to his own desires except as he was temporarily influenced by an individual or a group, or there would be developed in a much higher degree some other regulating influence, such as that of the community, the state or nation, or humanity, or deity. Highly developed human beings might have their lives regulated in some respects by such influences, but probably none of them could so stimulate and regulate every phase of the life of human beings, especially of small children, as can the small family group.

Statistics show that juvenile delinquency is much more common in homes where there is only one parent, especially if the parents have been divorced. It is also found that the best institution for orphans is one in which a comparatively small group of children, with one or more older persons, form an artificial family. Even that is inferior to a moderately good home, and it is generally agreed among social workers that it is better to get children adopted into respectable homes than it is to place them in even the best institutions.

Regulation of marriage. As has been indicated, marriage has always been regulated to a greater or less extent. Religious traditions have until recently had most influence in the making and enforcing of these regulations, which have heretofore only incidentally been concerned with the birth of healthy children and the provision of a proper home for them.

Since attention has been called to the importance to society of having born as many superior and as few inferior children as possible, and to the value of the family as the institution best suited to promote their phys-

ical, mental, and moral welfare, in preparing them to become useful members of society, a new type of legislation has appeared. Many states have laws prohibiting the marriage of insane, feeble-minded, or diseased persons. Some require health certificates, and some go still further and provide for the asexualization of persons who might, it is thought, produce defective children. This is a move in the right direction, but in many instances it is a more or less blind and ineffectual move. Much more study is needed before laws can be framed that will bring about the desired results.

In the mean time laws requiring the registration of births, parentage, and physical condition of the children should be made and enforced until there is a body of facts upon which wise and effective legislation may be based. Doubtless also laws requiring notice of intention before marriage may prevent some hasty and unwise marriages. Social education that gives higher ideals of parenthood and honors those who produce children of a high type is an important, positive help.

Laws making the husband economically responsible for the care of wife and children are doubtless of value in preserving the family unit. Such laws should probably be applied in nearly the same way to illegitimate as to legitimate children. Persons who have given being to a child have performed an act in which the whole social body is interested, and should be held responsible as far as possible for supplying the family life that children need.

Divorce. This topic is often made to read, "The divorce evil." In view of what has been said of the functions of the family, and of the fact that there has never been, and perhaps never will be, any institution

developed that can so well perform all these functions, it may be affirmed that destruction of family life is an evil. This does not necessarily mean that divorce is destroying family life and is evil. It may mean merely that families where it occurs have already failed to be successful and that the number of divorces is merely an index of the number of such failures.

This view has some support in the fact that four times as many divorces occur in cases where there are no children and in the additional fact that over half of the divorces granted are for adultery and for desertion.

The truth probably is that divorce is primarily an index of the number of failures of family life and only incidentally the cause of such failure. Laws have a good deal of effect upon customs and sentiment, hence easy divorce laws may lead to less importance being attached to marriage and its obligations. Again, numerous divorces make more evident the frequency of the failure of family life, and thus perhaps lessen the social disgrace of such failure. These influences are, however, comparatively slight, and the influence of the law may probably be made more effective through strict regulation of marriage and family life than it can through difficulty of divorce.

The fact that divorce is not easy to obtain will have little influence in preventing young people from hasty or unwise marriages. Strict regulations as to who shall marry, requirement of previous declaration of intention, and compelling the assumption of legal obligations during marriage are more effective. It seems, then, that the real problem is not that of putting legal difficulties in the way of divorce, but of finding the causes of the failure of family life and the remedy for such failure,

or possibly, some time in the distant future, evolving some institution that can successfully take the place of the family.

Easy divorce laws result in more of the failures in family life being made evident, but are probably far from a perfect index of family conditions. In Switzerland, where there is a liberal and uniform divorce law, the rate of divorce to marriage varies in different cantons from one in seven to one in two hundred and fifty. Divorce is much less common in Catholic countries than in Protestant, and everywhere religious and social sentiment has more influence than law in preserving the appearance of family life. It is probable that they also have some influence upon the actual conditions. Religion and sentiment are generally opposed to individualism, which puts desire ahead of duty; hence they help to preserve family life. Again, if for any reason, social, religious or other, a person refuses to make public the failure of his family life, he must then make the best of it, and may perhaps have a reasonably successful home.

Divorces are more frequent in cities than in rural sections and more frequent in New England and the Rocky Mountain regions than in other parts of the country; or, in other words, they are most common among native whites where American individualistic ideas are most dominant.

Statistics show that there are more divorces in the United States than in all the other civilized countries together, and that the proportion of divorces to marriages has more than doubled in thirty years, the ratio now being one to twelve.

As compared with the various other causes tending

to destroy family life, the chief cause of increase in the number of divorces is undoubtedly the lessening influence of religion upon social sentiment and upon laws. In this as in other lines there is a growing tendency to make laws and direct conduct, not in accordance with religious traditions, but by more or less established knowledge of results.

The Church may remain a powerful factor by preserving its traditions and sentiments regarding the sanctity of marriage, but the legislature and the scientific, social reformers must devote themselves to ascertaining the exact functions performed by the family and to finding the best way of insuring by legislation that these functions shall be effectively performed. Perhaps the State may do most by promoting economic welfare, especially in the line of housing conditions.

Family life and modern conditions. In rural districts, family life is similar to what it has always been, but in the cities the family is taking a less prominent place among social institutions. Economically the unity of the family is not so great. Husband and wife are often both wage-earners and separate spenders. Furnished apartments and dining facilities give little occasion for combined family ownership and effort. To only a slight extent do the parents act as protectors. These functions are performed by the State, the police, the fire department, the board of health, etc. Clubs and institutions of all sorts specialize in supplying different members of the family with social intercourse, recreation, and amusement, while the school has taken over a large part of the educational functions of the family, and the Church supplies religious instruction and training.

It sometimes looks as if the family as the universal nursery of the young might disappear and specialized substitutes be provided by other institutions. On the other hand, we must remember that even in the large cities, where conditions are least favorable to family life, it is still maintained by a very large percentage of the people, especially in homes where there are children. The most marked effect of modern conditions up to the present time has been to increase the number of persons who do not marry and to lead more married people to forego parenthood. With few exceptions those who do have children make considerable sacrifices in order that they may have a home and a separate family life. This indicates that in spite of the influences tending to disintegrate the home and family life, there are powerful instincts and traditions that are maintaining it and conserving its usefulness for at least the younger children.

EXERCISES

1. Compare the length of family life in the case of some of the animals with that of the human family.
2. Read and report on the family life of the ancient Romans or of other peoples.
3. Report on various marriage customs where religion is and where it is not a prominent feature. Report especially regarding the religious character of family life in Japan and in ancient Greece.
4. Read and report regarding different types of families and ways of counting relationship.
5. Summarize the arguments in favor of monogamy.
6. Study carefully the difference in the social development of a person reared in a large orphan asylum from infancy and one reared in a home with other children.

7. Look up statistics regarding the home life of delinquents.
8. Summarize and discuss the laws regulating marriage in one or more states.
9. Discuss the value of baby shows with prizes for the most perfect.
10. The divorce laws and the divorce statistics of one or more states or countries may be compared and discussed.
11. Should ease of divorce be greater for childless couples than for those having young children?
12. What influences may be used to strengthen family life and reduce the number of failures? Can the schools do anything?
13. A statistical study might be made of a certain number of families to find how many meals are eaten in common and how many evenings are spent at home by all, and to what extent all join in doing the same things.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The primitive community. A community in general consists of a number of families living in close proximity, having common interests and associating with one another in various ways.

In the primitive community, many, sometimes all, the families were related and the whole group was similar to a large family with the older men or one patriarch at the head. In some cases much of the property was held in common. This was true of part of the land even in New England in the early days. In nearly all cases most of the necessities of life were produced in the community, although some trade was usually carried on with other groups. In early times this was often done by means of barter at fairs held at more or less regular intervals.

Each community took whatever means were necessary to protect it against enemies and to regulate the conduct of families or individuals who interfered with the welfare of the group or some of its members. This phase of community life, which is the one concerned with providing protection, or government, was then as now a means of marking off one community from another. Naturally the social intercourse and the play outside of the small family circle were with other members of the community and in accordance with its customs. There was more or less music, dancing, story-telling, and ornamentation of person, clothes, utensils,

and dwellings, which constituted the cultural activity of the group. These were usually distinctive, though influenced by contact with other groups.

In the primitive community the religion is always the same for every individual and its ceremonies are directed by the elders or by a priest. The moral code is based chiefly on religious traditions.

The modern community. Specialization and easy communication make it exceedingly difficult to define a modern community, especially in urban districts. We may still say, however, that it consists of a number of families living near each other, with some common interests and association. In modern communities, however, the common personal interests are comparatively few, and the association within the group is limited as compared with that outside of it. In the modern community there is usually some form of government, and some organizations exist to which a large proportion of the people belong.

In rural sections the community is the school district, the town, or a village. In some sections, especially in the South, the county is an important sociological unit, but it is rather too large to admit that personal association of its inhabitants necessary to a community. A small city is a community in itself, and in a way this is true of large cities, but there are many districts in each city that may be regarded as partially separate communities. In many cities, however, it is difficult or impossible to distinguish these separate communities. In some apartment districts it may truly be said that there is no community association worthy the name. Those living near each other may have no common interests and no acquaintance. Their economic inter-

ests are in various places and their social interests, amusements, and cultural opportunities are found in various parts of the city and surrounding country, or perhaps in other cities. Even if they happen to be of the same religion, it is a chance whether they will attend the same church as their immediate neighbors.

In what are called residential districts the conditions are similar, but sometimes common interest in a local church or a school, or in street improvement, sewers, or other public necessities, may lead to acquaintance and united action for the benefit of all the people in the neighborhood. Such a community is never economically independent, but receives nearly all its necessities from other communities, many of them very distant. It has no separate government, and other than local talent is frequently drawn upon for recreation and culture.

In some portions of a city, therefore, definite communities are easily distinguishable, but very rarely are there as many evident common interests, or as general a personal acquaintance and sharing in all sorts of activities with the same people, as in the more primitive community.

The community life of a large city is as important, though less personal, than in smaller places. No matter how large a city may be, it is a community just as the modern shoe manufactory is a shoemaker's shop, although not an individual in it may be capable of making a complete shoe. All the people of a city do have common interests of all sorts, and the happiness of each person is dependent upon what other groups of people do, although this is not so evident in their personal relations as in a small community. The things upon which

a person's life, comfort, and happiness depend are for the most part, however, provided by institutions and persons regarding whom he has little or no personal knowledge. It is advantageous to be in a city that is economically prosperous, that is well governed, where there are good facilities for social intercourse, recreation, and cultural opportunities, and where the religious beliefs are not too different from one's own. A city is, therefore, a community in which the community life is so specialized and institutionalized that it is hard to recognize it and one misses the personal feature so prominent in the old-time community.

Community institutions and progress. In every community, large and small, there are matters which concern all the people that can be dealt with successfully only by some form of common action. This common effort takes two principal forms, that of political action and the organization of societies working for various purposes. Successful action for the good of all by either means is more difficult than in the primitive community, because the problems are more complex both within the community itself and in relation to other communities, and because conditions are continually changing so that past experience and usage cannot be relied upon to direct present action as much as formerly. It is not strange, therefore, that many foolish and unworkable laws are passed and many organizations formed that accomplish little or nothing for the general welfare. Many such societies expend all their energy in keeping themselves alive, and the objects for which they were formed are slightly if at all furthered by their existence. In general, new societies formed for a specific purpose accomplish most. Under present con-

ditions many of them succeed best by demonstrating community needs and means of meeting them, then securing political action that puts the matter under public control and leaves the society no further excuse for existing. Good roads, playgrounds, and libraries have resulted from this kind of organized effort.

Social progress and community action. Civilization progresses in proportion as modes of coöperative group action become perfected and embodied in successfully working institutions and laws. The lack of progress in China, where the people are intellectually capable, may be largely accounted for by the persistence of hampering customs originating in superstitious beliefs, and by the failure of the Chinese to learn from experience what methods of coöperating are valuable and to fix them by permanent institutions and laws. For example, the Chinese are ingenious in devising credit and insurance schemes for the advantage of the persons concerned. Ten men will, perhaps, pool all their capital and give to one of them the use of it for a certain period, then to another, till all have had the use of the combined amount. If all live and meet their obligations it is advantageous to all, but loss may come through death or the failure of one. They seem to have no idea of forming a permanent institution that can function successfully for generations, no matter what happens to individual members, providing certain rules are followed, as has been done by Western financiers in devising building and loan associations, cooperative banks, and coöperative credit institutions.

The Chinese are also ingenious in devising means of insurance against loss, but have never embodied the most useful of these ideas in a permanent institution.

They organize many societies, but do not develop them so as to make them permanent. For instance, to save each man the trouble of watching his own crop, a meeting is called and arrangements are made for reporting thefts and imposing fines for failure to report, and a temporary court of trial is established, but they evolve no permanent institution with officials acting according to certain laws for the protection of property. The coöperation for common interest is temporary and for the advantage only of the persons taking the action. It is true that there are representatives of national authority that may be appealed to, but for the most part they also act as seems to them fitting or advantageous especially to themselves and not with the idea of developing and administering a governmental institution in accordance with rules that will work effectively for many generations regardless of who may be in office.

Roads are in wretched condition because no permanently valuable means of dealing with this common need has been developed. The road is on private land, and the owner not only does not keep it in repair, but if he needs soil elsewhere he may dig it from the road, which, by the flow of water, is then transformed into a ditch. This unsystematic arrangement is made more or less sacred by custom and superstition, so that permanent enlightened improvement is hindered. For example, a wealthy and progressive woman built a road that was of great advantage to herself and others, but when soon afterwards there was an epidemic of influenza the people believed that it was caused by the road and were barely prevented from destroying it.

In every village there is a common need for water,

but this need is met by individual rather than by institutional means. Wells are not numerous, and it is difficult to draw the water, so men make a business of drawing and carrying it to those who do not wish to go for it themselves. A missionary in one place, in return for favors received, proposed to put a pump in a central well. The leading men of the village considered the proposition and asked him not to do so. They said it would not be fair to the people who were near other wells unless pumps were placed in them also, that the water-carriers would be deprived of their means of livelihood, and then, besides, if they got used to having a pump and it got out of order and would not work, what would they do?

There is good reason to believe that the people of Western nations are far ahead of the Chinese, not because of their greater intelligence or their greater ability to coöperate, but because they are less bound by hampering customs and superstitions and more inclined to look ahead to the good of posterity in their coöperative acts, profiting by past experiences in such a way that permanent institutions with increasingly better methods of working are developed. Such institutions well organized and managed best promote efficiency. Progress is indicated by special coöperative acts for new purposes or to meet special conditions and by the formation and improvement of new institutions. Efficiency and progress are favored when the government is such that the local community has a good deal of responsibility for its own affairs and the central government of state or nation has final authority to legalize those institutions and rules of procedure that have been shown to be permanently useful. This

it may do partly by compulsion and partly by education. For example, a community may be required to establish a hospital, poor-farm, school, or sewerage system, and to administer these according to rules prescribed by state law, or the administration may be in the hands of state officials; or the state may establish bureaus whose business it is to inform the various communities of the best ways so far discovered for meeting their common needs, as is done in agriculture and sometimes in education.

Perhaps the state may require that the need shall be met and possibly establish an institution to meet it, but have the community choose the officials and carry out the plans that seem to them best. The special function of the state government is to provide for common community needs by those institutions and laws that have proved to be of universal value, while the community should have the responsibility of using these established means and methods with variations of detail so as to meet its own special conditions and necessities or desires.

Changes are continually taking place which make individual or family effort and control less advantageous than group action by special organizations, these in turn giving place to public control by the community or perhaps by the state.

If this process should go on until all needs are recognized as common and the state should assume the function of supplying them, there would be the condition dreamed of by the socialists. How far changes in this direction may go with advantage cannot be determined by reasoning, any more than the physicist can determine the effect upon any substance of lowering

the temperature to absolute zero. Without experiment he could not infer the sudden change from gas to liquid or from liquid to solid that takes place with decrease in temperature. In a similar way it is idle for a sociologist who wishes to be strictly scientific to reason on purely theoretical grounds regarding socialism. The results of each change toward more complete governmental control may be studied, its advantages weighed, and the probable effects of further changes inferred, but long-range predictions as to what would happen if a sudden and complete revolution were made are not warranted on scientific grounds. Sociology must, as far as possible, proceed inductively as do other sciences if it is to be a real science. Hypotheses may be formed, but they must be tested by actual experiment or experience before they can be considered established principles of science. One of the advantages of local control is that a great variety of methods in economic and social lines are tested by experience.

Community problems. The chief problems of community life in this country are these: first, to utilize the means provided by the state for supplying common needs, by getting men in office who are sufficiently intelligent to use those means and wisely adapt them to local conditions, and who are broad enough to work for the advantage of the whole community rather than for special individuals or classes; second, to decide how much money shall be raised and expended for various public purposes; third, to organize and carry on various coöperative movements and societies by which the common needs and desires of the whole community, or of special classes of it, that are not provided for by public institutions, may be met and satisfied more easily

and effectively than is possible by individual or family effort.

The solution of the first problem is greatly furthered by the laws prescribing the methods of electing officials and clearly defining their duties and responsibilities. The Australian ballot system and provision for decreasing the number of persons responsible for certain functions, e.g., members of school committees, are among the most valuable improvements.

Raising and expending money for public purposes is a question in which all are interested. In this country money for local purposes is obtained chiefly by direct taxation (property and poll tax), while that for state and nation is more commonly obtained by less direct means, such as the tariff, internal revenue, and corporation taxes. This makes it more evident to the people that they are paying for their roads, schools, etc. Conditions differ so much in different localities, however, that as yet no completely satisfactory method of assessing property has been evolved. There are always complaints that assessments are unfair and there is no reliable means in general use by assessors of determining the facts.

The third problem, that of providing by means of special societies for the common interests of larger or smaller groups, is made much easier by the existence of well-organized national societies with local chapters in the various communities. In addition to these, it is often a good thing if there are distinctly local societies for the purpose of promoting one or more community interests.

Rural and urban communities. It may be stated as a general principle that rural life is more favorable to

unity of family, urban life to that of the community. Rural life is also favorable to the intercourse of individuals and urban to the working of institutions.

In rural districts each family has its own house and yard, water, sewerage, and lighting system, its own means of transportation and protection and its own bakery, and it finds the means of satisfying its social, recreative, cultural, moral, and religious needs and desires in the home or in association with near neighbors. The majority of the interests of the farmer are connected with family possessions and activities, hence he does not readily notice or properly estimate the common needs of himself and neighbors. It is often hard, for example, to get him interested in good roads or in coöperative buying and selling.

In urban districts, where the population is dense, separate houses, yards, gardens, water, sewerage, and lighting systems for each family are impossible, while home work, play, amusement, social intercourse, cultural and religious activities are replaced by special institutional activities. Permanent public provision regarding dwellings, streets, water, sewerage, garbage disposal, fire protection, and lighting is almost absolutely necessary if people are to live so densely in health and comfort. Experience also shows that recreation and cultural facilities may be provided more abundantly and cheaply by society or community action than by the separate efforts of the family.

People of urban communities become accustomed to doing and having things done through institutions, and thus are much more receptive to ideas along that line than the country dweller. On the other hand, urban people sacrifice much of their home life for institutional

life. Many citizens are, however, interested only in special institutions, and do not realize how all are related or how closely their interests are concerned with all and especially with their control and regulation by local and state action. This is one reason why city government has been so costly and inefficient. The extension of government control into new forms of protection and into the providing of facilities for recreation and culture has increased interest in local government and is leading to great improvements in municipal affairs.

In the rural districts the chief common interest met by an institution under public control has been the school. People of rural communities have learned, however, of what is being done in cities in other lines, and, after various fruitless attempts at economic coöperation by means of institutions, are now succeeding in many places in carrying on coöperative creameries, grain elevators, and fruit exchanges. In thickly settled rural Denmark this has been done to an extraordinary extent and is associated with a well-developed credit system. Such economic coöperation is not likely to be very successful except in rather thickly settled regions and where there are only a few varieties of products.

In a few rural communities in this country the people already coöperate in social, recreational, and cultural activities in a public way, and it may be expected that this will everywhere sooner or later follow successful economic coöperation.

EXERCISES

1. Report upon the community life of various peoples, especially of China or India.
2. Describe different types of community life, pointing out to what extent there are common interests and coöperative acts and institutions concerned in meeting them.
3. Is coöperative action more or less necessary in a rural than in a city community? Why?
4. Describe organizations that you know which have accomplished their object and have ceased to exist, and others that are merely keeping themselves alive.
5. Trace the history of some institution, such as that of insurance companies, and show how coöperation of individuals, successful and unsuccessful, leads to the formation of permanent, efficiently working institutions.
6. Report regarding the change from individual effort to institutional activity and then to governmental regulation and control of some means of satisfying a common need, e.g., roads and railways, lighting systems, or playgrounds, and note the advantages and disadvantages coming from the change.
7. Which is best suited for state and which for local community management, schools or prisons? Why?
8. What is the Australian ballot system and what are its advantages over the system formerly in use? What other improvements have been made and proposed for getting better men in office? Discuss also the initiative and the referendum.
9. What is the chief advantage of a commission form of municipal government over that of two representative boards?
10. What are the advantages of the so-called "short ballots"?
11. Should taxes be higher on land or on improvements? Why?
12. Discuss various proposed tax reforms.

13. Describe the working of a society in a community that you know and state the advantages or disadvantages of its being a branch of a national organization.
14. Look up the history of the grange movement and of the early and later attempts at coöperative buying and selling in this country. Also study what has been done in England and in Scandinavian countries in the way of economic coöperation.
15. Discuss the need of a rural credit system in this country.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMUNITY STUDIES — GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

Value. Social surveys of a certain type have for many decades been made by the census bureaus of our own and other civilized countries. Of recent years these have been much more complete and detailed than formerly. Many states have also conducted census studies, and there is now a growing belief that much may be gained from more detailed community surveys. This is partly because of increased appreciation of the fact that every community is a coöperating social group, and that the happiness and welfare of each class of persons and of every individual depend upon the ways in which various community activities are carried on.

Another cause of increased belief in community surveys is the valuable results that have been obtained in manufacturing and commercial institutions by a careful study of every phase of the business and the relation of one process to another. This is something more than the long-established custom of business institutions of taking account of stock at regular intervals, to determine to what extent the business is prospering. Now different parts of the business are studied to determine which are profitable and which are not, and in manufacturing establishments even the exact cost of each article produced and of each process concerned in its production is estimated. This has led to an examination of the efficiency of the processes, machines, and

workers. Out of these studies have developed the science and the profession of efficiency engineering.

The same ideas and methods may be applied to the study of community activities. Community life is really a problem in social engineering, and in the course of time a science and a profession for dealing with it will probably be developed. The problem to be solved is to determine how the community activities may be most efficiently directed so as to supply the common needs, economic, protective, recreational, social, cultural, moral and religious, and educational. A detailed survey of the community will show more or less clearly how completely and efficiently the community needs are being met and what possibilities of improvement there are.

Purposes of a survey. The purpose of a community survey may be general or special. In a general survey the chief aim is to get a more complete knowledge of the community life in all its phases, either as a study for purely scientific purposes or with the practical idea of learning what may be done for the improvement of the community. In both cases as many facts as possible should be collected, classified, and interpreted. In order to do this successfully, definite figures must be obtained or approximate estimates made and compared with corresponding figures from other communities as nearly like the one being studied as possible. This will show how the community in question ranks, in various respects, with other communities of a similar type and size. The figures showing the present condition of the community should also be compared with conditions as they were in the past, to show what kinds of changes are taking place.

Up to the present time there have not been enough

detailed surveys made to establish standards that can be used as a basis of comparison. It is usually necessary to figure out approximate standards by taking the census reports and the public documents of several communities similar in size and type to the one being studied.

Sometimes the purpose of a survey is not only to discover need for improvements, but to formulate definite plans for bringing them about. This goes somewhat further than movements for a civic betterment in the community. It considers not only the institutions and persons that are carrying on the work of the community, but also the natural conditions and the possibilities of planning future growth and improvement in both material and social lines. The new movement for city planning requires this sort of a survey.

Sometimes the purpose of a survey is for some immediate practical end, such, for instance, as to determine whether there will be sufficient custom to support a business of a certain kind, or to determine the health conditions in bakeries, or to find out whether additional playground facilities would be valuable, or to determine what new lines of church activity are needed to reach all classes of people. In such cases as these many of the general facts and figures obtained by a general survey will be of value, but the principal attention will naturally be given to facts, whether they can or cannot be expressed numerically, that have any bearing upon the end being sought.

How surveys are made. Surveys have usually been undertaken by some organization which raises money, employs one or more experts, and secures the coöperation of as many individuals and organizations as pos-

sible. A complete and accurate survey of even a small community requires a good deal of time to collect and tabulate all the facts that may be significant for scientific or practical purposes, and still more time to compare them with those obtained from other surveys and determine the status and special needs of the community studied. The degree of completeness of a survey may, however, vary from an exact enumeration and tabulation of all facts to mere observation and estimation of conditions, supplemented by information and opinions obtained from prominent people and by a few census figures. The latter type of survey may be made by a single individual. This is done by persons engaged in city planning, by individuals who wish a more complete knowledge of their community or of some phase of its life, or by students of sociology and education who wish some first-hand experience in studying social phenomena.

The writer has found that university and normal students are able in a comparatively short time to collect and organize the facts regarding their home community in a way that gives them a much better understanding of it and of community life in general than they have had before. They also bring out facts that are surprising and suggestive to old residents who have rarely considered their community in a broad, systematic, comparative way. On the other hand, the young investigator may learn much from citizens that will help him to interpret the facts that he has collected. He will also be greatly helped by studying the surveys that have been made in other communities and by reading of community life in other lands.

Those who attempt surveys must very carefully dis-

tinguish between opinions and facts that can be verified and enumerated, and while giving some weight to the opinions of representative people should collect as many exact facts as possible. They should not be hasty in reaching conclusions and should be sure of the grounds upon which they are based. It is usually best in any survey to start with the facts regarding the geography of the region, the character of the population, and the number and kind of organizations, then proceed to the special topic or topics of inquiry. The census reports and public documents of the place, police and school reports, etc., and directory, if any, will prove useful, as will also the reports of organizations of all kinds and the facts that can be supplied by their officials. In addition to this the investigator will need to observe, estimate, and enumerate, if possible, many other facts.

Geographical conditions. In every general survey geographical conditions must receive attention. In rural communities the natural geographical conditions are most important, while in urban communities the artificial conditions produced by man, such as the way in which the city is laid out, the means of transportation and communication, the kinds of business organized and buildings constructed, are of most significance.

In a rural community climate and soil are of first importance, and they determine to a considerable extent the kinds of crops produced and the density of the population. If the country is level or markets distant, field crops are often raised and much machinery is employed on comparatively large farms. If the country is hilly and rocky, machinery will be used less, the farms will be smaller, and the crops of a different character.

Near a large city, fruit and garden products are more likely to be raised, but with the present means of transportation, communities favorably situated for producing early fruits and vegetables may, by proper coöperation, market them in cities a thousand miles distant.

The discovery of minerals and oil in a rural community may entirely transform it. It may also be greatly changed if it has natural advantages and means of communication fitting it for a summer resort.

In the case of a city, natural geographical conditions have much to do with the location and early character of the community, yet its later history and character may be more completely determined by the people who live there and the artificial conditions which they have produced. Among the most important of these man-made conditions affecting the life of the community are the railroads, the factories, the streets, and the general housing conditions.

Population. In studying a community as much attention should be given to the general character of the population as to the purely geographical facts. The statistics as to number of people of each sex in the community, their nationality, the size of families, proportion of wage-earners and of literacy should be looked up. A general view of the dominant occupations and the social classes into which the people are divided is also valuable. If there are many nationalities represented, this will mean a very complex study. If those of the same nationality live in the same section, as is often the case, there will be a number of very distinct communities each with its peculiar problems. If the various nationalities are mingled in their place of living, most of them not citizens, and many of them single

men and only temporary residents, then little can be gained for social purposes by making a detailed study. The permanent residents who direct the activities and carry on the public work of the community are the ones that should receive most attention.

Where a large proportion of the population is of foreign birth, but many are permanent residents and citizens, they usually retain many customs and organizations of their native countries while gradually adopting those of the new. Each quarter is usually receiving fresh immigrants who learn from their countrymen of the new-world customs, institutions, and laws. It is very important, therefore, that each center of foreign population should learn of the best of American life. The schools are important influences in this direction, but means should be used to inform the older people, soon after they come, regarding our country and its institutions. On the other hand, it should be recognized that they bring with them some customs and institutions as good or better than our own. Instead of being ridiculed, some of these should be commended and in part incorporated into the new life.

A study of the population will quickly show whether it is fairly homogeneous or one in which there are distinct classes which differ greatly. The important thing to notice is whether they have any common interests and whether there are institutions by means of which they coöperate. In residential sections the people are often of the same general grade, but in suburban districts especially, there may be few common interests and no organizations for associated action. In other sections, on the contrary, there may be a diversity of nationalities, but common interests, and some institutions, such

as a trade union, that bring all of them into close relation.

The age of a community and its previous history must often be considered in order to make an intelligent survey and interpretation of the community life. In an old community much depends upon traditions, long-established institutions, and the way in which various classes and cliques have worked together or against each other. Unfortunately in many communities there is much fault-finding and jealousy which interfere with public movements, while in others there is a considerable amount of civic pride — a very desirable thing if it is a pride in progressive activities, a serious handicap if it is merely a pride in the past which prevents improvement.

In a new city its leaders are the most important element of the population. They have the real qualities of leadership instead of holding the position merely because of wealth or family, as is often the case in an older community. They start movements and establish institutions unhampered by traditions and clan feelings. In older communities leaders with initiative must often oppose old customs and prejudices supported by men who have wealth and position, and they may give up the struggle or emigrate to a newer country. The work of leaders in every community is of significance to social students. In new communities the leaders of the day have the greatest influence upon the present and future life and institutions, while in older communities it is often more important to know of the work of a leader long since dead.

Housing. No factor in city life is more important than its housing conditions. It is a permanent influ-

ence continually acting upon every individual and upon the most important of all groups, the family. The city that has the best housing conditions for all its dwellers may be regarded as the one that has most completely adapted its environment to meet the needs of a large number of civilized people in a limited space. Good housing conditions represent the most complete adjustment of all the social activities of the community for the advantage of all. It is only possible where all able-bodied workers receive adequate pay, where the streets are properly laid out and cared for, where building operations are intelligently carried on, where business and residence districts are properly arranged with reference to each other and to recreational and cultural centers, and where there are efficiently planned and managed water, sewer, fire, lighting, and health departments.

The housing conditions are the best index of successful community life because they are so intimately related to every phase of community activity both as a cause and as an effect. Every improvement in housing conditions makes possible further improvement in the community, while every other improvement in any phase of community life has its effect sooner or later upon housing conditions. This is well shown by the changes in certain sections of large cities. Very unattractive houses may be occupied by foreigners when they first come to this country, but as soon as their financial affairs improve they learn something of the advantages of better home conditions. They first improve their house furnishings, then they demand improvement in the house, and often they move to another section of the city where better housing is provided. Their places are taken by another class of foreigners who are poor

and ignorant. In any city where all classes have improved financially and intellectually, no one can be induced to occupy houses that are not favorable to healthful and happy home life. To bring this condition about should, of course, be the aim of every city.

Much may be learned of the housing conditions in a city and in its different sections by passing along the streets, noting how close the houses are together, and whether any are in the rear of others or facing on an alley, the size and general aspect of the houses, the appearance of the people, and the number of children in the streets. The census report gives the number of persons per building, and this is some indication of the housing conditions. If the number in the community being studied is larger, as compared with the area, than the average, it means one of two things, large tenements or small buildings overcrowded, or possibly both. The best numerical expression of a crowded condition or the absence of it is the ratio of the number of persons to the number of rooms in the city or in certain sections of the city. Another is the number of rooms per family, but this is not so significant if boarders are also found in many of the tenements. Although many persons in a few rooms constitute the most significant indication of bad housing conditions, yet the size of the rooms, the window space, and the sewer, water, and toilet facilities are in themselves more important than the mere fact of many people in a given space. Other significant factors are narrow streets or the absence of other open spaces, the proximity to noisy, dirty, or evil-smelling factories, too great distance from market, recreation, and cultural opportunities, or insufficient means of transportation.

It may be said that the character of the people is the more important factor determining how clean, healthful, and attractive the home shall be. Theoretically this is true, but with very few and usually temporary exceptions the people match their surroundings. People partly choose and partly make their environment, and hence they must, in the long run, correspond. Those who like clean, pleasant surroundings will have them even if they must pay a higher rent and do with less desirable food and clothing. Those who do not care for them will live in squalor and save money. If people of neat habits are absolutely compelled by poverty to live in dirty and unsanitary surroundings, they improve their financial condition after a time and move, or they gradually become less and less particular, and finally descend to the level of their neighbors.

On the other hand, if persons who have lived in crowded, dirty sections move into a section where there is space and cleanliness, they will usually soon improve their own habits of living until they approach those of their new neighbors. If, however, a whole neighborhood is given better living conditions, but no teaching or example of clean, sanitary living, the change in material environment which has not been asked for or produced by themselves will not greatly modify the people. Instead they will modify the environment until the well-built tenement is almost as unattractive as the old one previously occupied. Transformation in a neighborhood is usually best brought about gradually by constructing a few good houses and having them occupied by those who will keep them attractive, until the whole community is transformed materially and spiritually. A clean-up campaign for the yards and streets,

some renovation of the buildings, and regular garbage and rubbish collections may also greatly improve the living conditions in certain sections of the city.

It may be admitted that people are more important than their material surroundings, but in cities, where the surroundings are almost wholly man-made, there is an inevitable tendency for them to become adapted to each other. It follows, therefore, that a study of the housing conditions in any section furnishes a good index of the characteristics of the people inhabiting it. The longer they have lived in the same surroundings, the more completely is this true. Improvement is most rapid when the attempt is made to change both people and surroundings at the same time, especially by inciting the desire to change and providing facilities for improvement.

To produce good housing conditions at a low cost is very difficult, so difficult that much coöperation of many people, perhaps backed by political action, is necessary. The best results have been reached where architects and builders have coöperated with individuals and building associations and have observed public regulations regarding streets and buildings in constructing large numbers of houses of a few types suited to the size, income, and tastes of typical families who were likely to reside in that section. In this way good living conditions have been produced in some cities at about half the cost of planning and building as an individual affair.

A study of housing conditions should show not only how bad or good they are, but also just why they are bad in any respect in order that it may be known how to improve them. Sometimes the way in which the city

has been laid out or its geographical situation is responsible, and the remedy may be obvious but costly. If the streets are wide and far apart, houses may have been built on alleys and on the backs of lots, as is the case in Washington. In some cases rear houses are being torn down and in others alleys are transformed into streets. If building laws prevent the erection of houses on the rear of lots, then there may be much land with each house. This is desirable, but adds to the cost of housing unless tall tenements are erected. If streets are wide, this is less objectionable than if they are narrow, but wide streets are a costly form of open space to construct and maintain. They also decrease the amount of taxable property in the city, and when they occupy, as is sometimes the case, almost one half of the entire city area, it is evident that they must be very costly and housing expenses unusually great. Where there is nothing to prevent a city from spreading out, it is better for residence districts to have narrow streets, low houses, and open spaces in the form of yards, parks, and playgrounds. These are much cheaper to maintain than streets and more valuable for residents. Broad streets are needed only where there are tall buildings or much travel, as is usual in business sections. A city that is spread over a large area will have more taxable property than one of the same population that is concentrated on a small space, and the living conditions will be much better. In the latter case the transportation problem is more difficult unless the inhabitants are so grouped in relation to their work and to recreational and other facilities that they do not often need to go long distances.

In some cases the remedy for bad housing conditions

is to be found in better water and sewer facilities, or in better and more strict enforcement of regulations regarding the construction of buildings.

In many cases people coming from rural districts, where conditions are very different, or from foreign lands, do not know how to make the best of their surroundings even when they are fairly good, and they need to be shown how their dwellings may be made more healthful and attractive and to have their tastes in this direction cultivated. Sometimes it may be found that so many of the family are working long hours that they have not time or energy to make their dwellings clean and attractive. It may be discovered that wages or employment are so irregular that overcrowding is an absolute necessity. In such cases the remedy is entirely economic.

Sometimes foreigners greatly overcrowd partly because they are used to it in the countries from which they come (often from rural districts where it is less objectionable) and partly because they are willing to live in such conditions in order to save money. This is more often the case where many families take boarders. These are difficult cases to deal with. So far as the individual families are concerned, however, it is often temporary, for when they have saved enough money they frequently either go back to their native country or cease to keep boarders and perhaps buy a home of their own. If societies were formed for supplying good boarding conditions at a reasonable price, some of the overcrowding of boarders in private families might be prevented.

In considering general housing conditions, the rank of the community in question as compared with others

may be determined by a comparison of the rent paid to income received by different classes of people. The amount spent on rent varies in different cities and for different classes from about one sixth to about one third of the total family expenditure. Those with a moderate income are likely to spend more in proportion on rent, while the proportion spent for food is highest among the very poor.

The cost of rent per room is another form of statistics that may be used in a comparison of the purely economic phase of housing conditions in different cities and in the same city at different times. There is usually, of course, a pretty close correspondence between the cost of rent and the value of residences.

Institutions. In a general survey the part that its various institutions play in the life of the community as a whole should be considered. Very frequently a society organized for a special purpose may enlist many members and incidently increase the variety of its activities, until it is more influential in several lines than are other societies organized for those special forms of work. A church, a school, a woman's club, a board of trade, a lodge of some kind, or a good government club, a reading-circle, a recreative club, a Y.M.C.A., or a social settlement may be the most efficient means of association and common action that there is in the community. These various societies, as well as the local government and its administration, will naturally receive attention in studying the ways in which the several social needs are met, but they should be considered with reference to the whole life of the community as well as from the point of view of special needs and activities.

Statistics may be collected as to the number, membership, and lines of activity of societies of all kinds, and these compared with others gathered in similar communities. It will be found usually that on the average each person is a member of several societies, and yet in every community there are probably some adults who belong to no society, while others belong to a score or more.

One important thing to note in studying the societies of a community is this. What societies are for special classes of people and which bring together many different classes? What is the value of these different institutions in the life of the community? In some places there are many organizations for special classes and interests, but not one representing interests common to all and having the support of all. Such a community is unfortunate.

Effects of rural and urban life. The differences between rural and urban communities, already mentioned, and discussed in the following chapters, are modified by their relations to each other, and this relation must be considered in all community studies.

A village with a rural population surrounding it may combine many of the advantageous characteristics of both the urban and the rural community, especially now that good roads and telephones are common. This is nearly always the case when the village is under the same government as the surrounding country and is the center of the economic, social, recreational, cultural, religious, and educational life of the people. If the people are sufficiently alike, there may be a happy blending of personal association and institutional activity that yields the fullest community life.

In many instances, however, the relations are less fortunate. The people of town and country are not similar, or unified in their interests. The effects are usually worst upon the rural population, especially when it consists largely of temporary tenants. In nearly every case the rural community loses its distinctive advantages of family and neighborly life before it gains those of urban institutional life. This is especially true with regard to recreation and culture. Discontent among country people, especially of the younger generation, is due largely to the fact that they must go to town for recreation, while rural life supplies only hard work. This is one of the chief reasons why there has been such an increase of city population and in many cases a decrease in the strictly rural districts. Not only do the young people go to the city, but well-to-do farmers rent their land and move to town where they and their children have more cultural advantages. Under such conditions the community life, instead of improving, degenerates. In thickly settled rural districts such degeneration may be prevented by getting the people to provide themselves with recreational and cultural facilities.

The effect upon city dwellers of taking vacations in the country is to attract them to it. There is, therefore, a double movement from city and country to suburban sections. The people of these suburban districts may or may not become unified as a community and act in such a way as to secure the advantages of both city and rural life. Sometimes they merely live in the country for the sake of its natural advantages and go to the city for the artificial advantages of specialized institutional life.

EXERCISES

1. Discuss the possible future of the profession of social engineer.
2. Each student should make at least a general or partial survey of some community.
3. Standards of comparison that may be used in survey work should be studied and reported upon.
4. Look up and report upon the development of the city-planning movement.
5. Discuss the question of how to secure the coöperation of all classes in making a community survey.
6. Describe two communities, one in which natural geographical advantages seem to dominate and another in which the character of the people seems to give it its distinctive character.
7. Report on social settlements or other means of developing community life and of educating foreign people.
8. Have all students report their observations on the housing conditions in the immediate locality in which they are living and that of some contrasting locality that they visit. After a few reports and some discussion a general outline should be agreed upon to be followed by all in a more complete study of the problem.
9. Have each student report upon the institution in his home community that he thinks has the most influence upon the community life as a whole.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMUNITY STUDIES — ECONOMIC AND PROTECTIVE

Economic conditions and public finances. The economic condition of a community should be carefully studied whatever the purpose of the social survey. In every case the conditions and possibility of improvement in any phase of community life depend directly or indirectly upon the economic prosperity of the community as a whole and upon the extent of the distribution of this prosperity among all classes.

One of the most important and easily obtained facts with regard to the economic condition of the community is the average amount of taxable property possessed by its inhabitants. It is true that the assessed value of property does not in every case correspond closely to the actual value. It may represent in different communities anywhere from thirty to a hundred per cent of the real value, but it is the best estimate available, and in every community the valuation made by the assessors for taxation determines to a considerable extent the amount that can be expended for public purposes. The average valuation per person in the United States is about thirteen hundred dollars, but even in the same states it is ten times as much in some communities as it is in others. Usually it is greater in cities than in rural sections. In a community with a very small valuation it is evident that only a small amount of money can be expended for public purposes, such as roads, bridges, schools, etc.

Although the amount of assessable property in a community is the basis for determining the expenditure for public expenses, it is not an accurate measure of economic prosperity and of the amount that may be used without hardship for community purposes. The amount of property in a community is sometimes an indication of past rather than of present prosperity. In a new community property valuation may be low, but annual income large, while in an old community property valuation is sometimes large, but income small. This is true if in the newer community a large proportion of the people are engaged in productive work, while in the older a large number are unproductive and are living upon the income of past accumulations. In communities of the former type a tax rate twice as high as in the older community might be levied without placing any greater burden upon the people. In the new, enough may be raised for public purposes even though the property valuation is below the average, because the people can afford to pay a higher rate of taxes.

It is important to know in every community not merely the average valuation of property and the average income per person, but how this property and income are distributed. A community having a few very wealthy persons may rank as high in average wealth and income and yet be an entirely different sort of a community, economically and otherwise, from one of equal valuation and income in which there are no very wealthy individuals. The first community would be one in which there were great numbers of poor people, while in the second there would be little if any extreme poverty. The economic condition of the community

might probably be best indicated by classifying its population in groups according to valuation of property or income per year and finding what groups are largest. In most cases in a democratic country we would regard the community having very few wealthy and very few poor people as being in a better condition for the development of various forms of social life, and there is no doubt that in a long course of years it is more efficient and productive.

It is not only important to know how much money is available in any community for public use, but also to know how much is needed in that particular community. In a city a great deal must be expended upon streets and sewers, the amount depending to a considerable extent upon the nature of the ground and the way the city is laid out, while in rural districts comparatively little will be thus expended in proportion to the length of the highways. On the other hand, in a very sparsely settled rural community, the comparative expense of providing adequate school facilities will be very great.

A very important question in every community is that of how the public money is being expended. Affairs are best managed, not in the community that is most economical or the one which is most liberal in its expenditure of public money, but in the one that gets the most for its money in the way of public advantages for all classes of persons. Citizens generally have been interested in the amount expended for various purposes, but with the varied and often complex forms of bookkeeping and financial reporting it has been impossible for the average citizen to know just how advantageously public money has been spent.

One of the principal things needed at the present time is more uniformity and simplicity of bookkeeping and clearer statements regarding financial affairs, so that every citizen shall know just how the public money is being used and how much any improvement or addition to public conveniences will cost. Simplified financial statements and publicity regarding the financial expenditure of the community, and the strict accountability of each official in charge are most important means of civic improvement.

Economic resources and activities. The natural resources, especially in a rural section, should receive careful attention. Climate, soil, minerals, water-power, and natural means of communication with other places are always to be studied to see how they compare with the same advantages in other sections and how fully they are being utilized. In addition, other advantages, such as beautiful scenery or abundance of fish, may in some places be important economic assets.

In farming communities the proportion of cultivated land to the whole area, the number and size of the farms, the value of the land and improvements, and the amount and value of the yearly products, the number of farms free from mortgages, etc., should be determined and compared with census reports of the state and the United States. If a large proportion of the farms are operated by owners, this almost surely means permanence of residence and a better developed community life.

The artificial resources, such as roads, machinery, and working capital, and institutions, such as banks and produce associations, should be studied. Determine whether the natural facilities for making good

roads are utilized or neglected. Machinery may or may not be used as much as it should be considering the soil and the crops. Lack of sufficient capital and a bad credit system may make it difficult or impossible for the farmer to procure proper machinery, stock, seed, or help. The market conditions may be poor because there is no near market and because there is not enough of each kind of crop to make shipping to distant markets feasible. This often results in there being only one or two principal cash crops and a consequent lack of suitable variety and rotation of crops to keep the soil in good condition. This difficulty may sometimes be remedied by means of an organization which arranges for the grading and marketing of the products of many farms, which could not be shipped and sold profitably in small lots. In newer sections of our country the land is often productive but capital scarce, interest high and markets uncertain, while in older sections this is less likely to be the case.

Much depends upon the character of the people. If they are industrious and intelligent, much work is done, they raise crops suited to the region, and learn to cooperate in getting credit and market facilities.

In urban sections the most significant economic facts do not concern natural resources so much as they do artificial assets, the railway and water facilities and the factories in an industrial town, the business houses in a commercial center, and the housing and living conditions in a residential suburb. These mean that there is more or less capital in the place to facilitate the production and distribution of articles of value and make living conditions comfortable.

The character of the community where there is only

one dominant industry will differ greatly from that of a place where there are many. If there is only one industry, the people are usually divided into a few distinct classes and prosperity varies from year to year, while if there are many industries the classes are not commonly so distinctly separate and prosperity is usually more evenly distributed.

One index of economic prosperity is the value of the manufactured products and the amount of business done by commercial houses. This is often indicated in a general way by the bank clearings, also by the number and financial condition of the banks.

The prosperity of the common people is indicated by the deposits in savings banks and also by the amount of business done by coöperative banks or building and loan associations. The wealth-producing activity of the community as a whole is measured to a considerable extent by the percentage of the population engaged in economic production and their average income. A city of little wealth in which workers are numerous and wages high may, therefore, be much more prosperous than a city with much wealth but few active producers. The industry and intelligence of workers are a city's greatest assets if there is material and institutional provision for their effective employment in economic activities.

The city needs not only a sufficient number of factories and business houses suited to the city and its trade with surrounding places, but good banks, favorable means of transportation, an active board of trade, and conditions favorable for keeping workers profitably employed, healthy and contented, and economically and politically interested in their home community.

The more people invest their money and spend for necessities, pleasures, and culture at home, the more prosperous will all classes of the community be. Increase in wages, then, increases the prosperity of the stores, the banks, the insurance companies, the building trades, the theaters, the churches, and the schools. More desirable people come to the place and remain, more capital is ready for use, and more efficient workers are kept in the city.

It is utterly impossible for a city to be permanently prosperous if the conditions of living are bad for any considerable proportion of its inhabitants. A large slum district means that a large portion of the economic resources of the city is partially or wholly non-productive and the rest of the city is, therefore, less prosperous than it would otherwise be.

After facts have been obtained concerning the conditions mentioned above, conclusions may be drawn as to what constitutes the greatest economic weakness of the community and suggestions made as to possible improvements and how they may be brought about.

Specific figures to be obtained.

Assessed valuation per person.

Value of products, past year and former years (itemized and total).

Amount of wholesale and retail business, past year and former years.

Bank deposits, past year and former years.

Savings banks deposits, past year and former years.

Building and loan business, past year and former years.

Total working capital, past year and former years.

Number and per cent of population engaged in productive work.

Average wages.

Average number of days employed.

Estimated average yearly income or number receiving more or less than certain amounts, e.g., $500, $1000, $2000, etc.

Number of persons receiving aid, past year. Former years.

Amount expended for aid, past year. Former years.

Cost of each department of the city, past year. Former years.

Per cent of total spent by each department of the city, past year. Former years.

Salary of chief officials, past year. Former years.

Wages of municipal employees, past year. Former years.

Value of new buildings erected.

Amount of public money expended.

Tax-rate.

Public debt.

Miles of roads.

Miles of macadamized roads.

Protection against crime and injustice. Protection against personal assault and property loss through the acts of others is in all civilized countries provided by governmental rather than private institutions, although sometimes law and order leagues are organized for this purpose, mobs are temporarily formed to punish criminals, or corporations employ a detective agency to help preserve their property at the time of a strike. The use of any such protective means indicates that the government institutions are not doing their work effectively. There is reason also for saying that where there is efficient government and conditions of life in a community

are good, there should be little need for individuals to seek to protect themselves by locks, bars, and revolvers.

Such institutions as those insuring against burglary or theft are not necessarily a reflection on local government, since persons committing such acts rarely confine themselves to one community, yet they mean that protection by law is inefficient.

There is no reliable index of the effectiveness of protective institutions. A small amount of crime in a community may be due to effective governmental protection or to the good character of the people and the favorable conditions under which all live. Few arrests may indicate either an inactive government or little crime, while many arrests may mean an active government, but unfavorable conditions or lawless people. Again, it may mean that many new and unfamiliar regulations, such as those relating to spitting on the sidewalk or fast driving, have been made and are being enforced. For these reasons statistics of crime are difficult of interpretation. They should, however, be collected and classified in such a way as to make some interpretation possible. The proportion of convictions to arrests, and the time elapsing before verdicts are rendered, are important indications of the activity and efficiency of police and judicial departments.

Court procedure, especially for juveniles, should be carefully studied. The prisons and the work of probation officers should also receive attention. Besides the protection afforded normal people under normal conditions a study should be made of the provision made for the weak and defective and those who are temporarily unable to care for themselves. This means a study of the institutions for charitable and hospital care, and may

also include an investigation of the laws and societies concerned in protecting persons with little knowledge and money from the impositions of loan sharks and swindlers of various sorts.

Children form the largest group of persons needing protective care; hence, in every community public provision is made and often special societies exist for guarding them from physical and moral injury of various kinds. These need to be carefully studied, especially in cities where this function, properly belonging to the family, is less perfectly fulfilled.

Protection against disease and accident. The most important protective institutions are those concerned in providing and maintaining conditions favorable to health and which attend to such matters as sewer systems, water-supply, garbage-collection, building supervision, and hospital accommodations. All of these departments may be under the general direction of the board of health and administered by public officials, though in some places these functions are carried on by private institutions or individuals. The facts for the community in question should be ascertained and the efficiency of the service estimated.

The chief index of health conditions is the death-rate per thousand, and the nature of unfavorable conditions is suggested by the causes of death and the age at which most deaths occur, as compared with other places. Figures as to sickness, if they can be obtained, are helpful. Much typhoid indicates usually that the water- and milk-supply should be carefully examined, while a great deal of tuberculosis suggests bad housing conditions, and frequent accidents indicate a lack of proper protective measures in the industries and on the streets and railways.

Protection against fire is supposed to be furnished chiefly by the fire department and its efficiency and equipment should be studied, but the character of buildings and the precautions taken by the inhabitants are more important. The best index of fire protection is the amount of yearly destruction by fire. This, however, is quite variable. The insurance rate, which is based on permanent conditions and much past experience, is usually a pretty good indication of the safeguards against fire. The surroundings of the city or the nature of its industries may also determine whether the fire risk is great or small.

The amount of business done by life insurance and industrial accident and sickness insurance companies and societies is a pretty good indication of the activity of individuals in protecting themselves against injury to person and loss to families. Of course, insurance merely distributes the amount of loss to the world among many people and over long periods of time without actually making it good. This distribution of losses does, however, benefit the individuals concerned and indirectly the whole community; for the insurance premium is a known amount that can be provided for without interfering with economic production, while without insurance the disturbances due to sudden injuries and losses are destructive to family life and disorganizing to the industry suffering loss, which perhaps throws workers out of employment and so injures those industries that depend upon their patronage.

Protective regulation and education. Regulation is provided by state laws and local ordinances and by the rules adopted by the various protective institutions. The laws are enforced by the officials of the state and

community, assisted by the courts which impose penalties for violation.

Another way of bringing about the desired protection is by education. Some health officers, for example, rarely invoke the law, but devote their energies to informing the people of the bad effects of certain practices and to inducing them individually and in groups to coöperate in maintaining sanitary conditions. Such regulation, if successful, is more lasting and attained at much less cost than that brought about by imposing penalties. The chief need for penalties occurs when all but a very few can be induced to comply with the necessary regulations, but where failure of those few nullifies the action of all. If a large proportion of the people are not convinced of the desirability of a regulation, conformity can only be brought about by swift and sure infliction of severe penalties. In a democratic country this is impossible, because arrests will not be made or juries will not convict.

It may be stated that, with few exceptions, regulations made before public opinion is educated to receive them, must be enforced with severity or fail, sometimes both, while education without the possibility of using force is often rendered ineffective by the action of a few. In general, then, education only should be used where the results cannot be vitiated by the few who do not conform, while in other cases education should be used as far as possible and force only when necessary.

The study of protective regulation in a local community is very much complicated by the fact that many of the regulations are made by the state and in many instances they are also administered and enforced by

state officials. Sometimes national laws and officials are also concerned.

The great problem of protective and other regulation is to find what course of action will bring about the desired results, then, by education, induce the people to adopt this course of action, and if necessary, for the protection of all, punish a few. Institutions and laws are social inventions and the public officials and the officers of societies are the operators of these social machines. Sometimes the institutions are like automatic machines and officials have little to do but to follow the rules, e.g., insurance companies and savings banks. In other cases the official needs to be a skilled artisan or social engineer who can adapt the institution and its rules to special conditions and secure the desired results with least cost in effort and money.

In making a study of protective conditions these truths should be borne in mind. The investigator must make himself familiar with the institutions concerned and the laws, ordinances, and rules that have been made, and then he must observe their administration to see how effectively the desired results are being secured.

Failure may come through poorly devised organization, or unwise rules, or through lack of energy, intelligence, and honesty on the part of officials. Too many institutions and individuals may be concerned in the same matter without any one's having full responsibility. This is really an instance of the class of failures first named. Our institution of municipal government, in which there are many aldermen and councilmen and numerous boards, is poorly devised and does not work well, not only because officials can shirk responsibility,

but because good officials have not sufficient authority to do what should be done. For example, in the case of a family of neglected, feeble-minded children there may be no action because of lack of coöperation of the several departments of charity, health, and police, no one of them taking the responsibility.

The student of social life should seek first the facts indicating that protection of various kinds is effectively provided, then compare the facts with those found in other places or in the same place at other times, when institutions, laws, officials, or conditions were partly the same and partly different. If the institutions and laws have been successful in many places and under various conditions, but are not working well in the local community, then, unless the conditions are very exceptional, the officials are responsible, and the question is how to get better ones.

If the local institutions and rules are the cause of failure, the remedy is easier to find than if state laws and institutions are involved. The student must determine how far remedy must be sought in the direction of new legislation, local or state, in new organizations, in better officials, in a campaign of education, or in several of these combined.

Specific facts to be obtained.

Death-rate per thousand, past year. Former years.

Chief causes of death, past year. Former years.

Detailed facts regarding any departments that might be a means of lowering the death-rate.

Number and character of accidents, past year. Former years.

Number of fires, past year. Former years.

Loss, past year. Former years.

Fire insurance rates.

Per cent of population carrying some form of insurance against death, accident, or disease.

Number of arrests, past year. Former years.

Chief causes of arrests, past year. Former years.

Number of policemen per thousand of population.

Methods of dealing with juveniles.

A list of local protective institutions.

A summary of local protective ordinances.

What state or local laws are much violated.

Kinds of protection that are inadequately provided.

CHAPTER XIX

COMMUNITY STUDIES — RECREATIONAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS

Recreational facilities. What constitutes the life of the people in addition to its mere maintenance and the preservation of health? This is the further question to be taken up by the student of community life. The answer is most quickly found by a study of its means of recreation and the uses that are made of them.

In rural communities there is usually less time for recreation, less permanent, and rarely any public, provision for it. The principal play-times of the community are on holidays, and then frequently a visit is made to a near-by town or village instead of having entertainment provided in the neighborhood. Shows, fairs, exhibitions, and occasional picnics, parties, weddings, or dances furnish some recreation. Even funerals are sometimes regarded as social festivities of a solemn kind. In some places, except in the busiest seasons, there may be gatherings for baseball. Horse-racing, card-playing, and drinking are sometimes engaged in by groups of people on Sundays or at other times. At some rural homes there are provisions for recreation in the form of croquet grounds, swings, tennis, and apparatus for indoor games that are used by the family and neighbors occasionally.

Rarely are there to be found in a rural community permanent grounds, buildings, apparatus, or institutions for providing recreation, nor do institutions for other

purposes usually make recreation a prominent incidental feature of their work. In some communities, however, the Y.M.C.A. and other organizations are now doing a good deal to promote healthful recreation.

In cities and in nearly all except the smaller villages the conditions are quite different. More people of leisure are found in such places and work is more specialized, with far shorter hours, hence there is more time and inclination for recreation of some kind. Motion-picture entertainments are now provided almost everywhere, while theaters are found in all the larger places. Generally there are permanent clubs of various kinds for recreative purposes and other institutions that make similar provision. These should be studied to determine the extent and variety of facilities they offer and to find out how large a proportion of the people make use of them. The extent and comparative value of amusement facilities provided by commercial institutions, clubs and societies and by public means should be determined.

If the city provides no opportunities for play, then the question of the need for such should be investigated. This may be done, after the above facts have been obtained, by making a detailed study, first, of the open spaces where play may be carried on, and, second, of the actual doings of children and perhaps of older people during their leisure hours.

The principal places that may be used are parks, school playgrounds, vacant lots (with or without permission of the owner), and the streets which are more or less free from traffic. The extent and location of each of these in relation to the number of inhabitants or number of children should be determined.

What children do may be ascertained by going about the city for a few days, observing various groups and making a record of what they are doing and where. When the doings of a few hundred children are classified, it will not be difficult to decide whether play facilities and play supervision are needed.

A similar study of how adults spend their leisure time is less easily made, but may show with equal clearness whether there is occasion for the organization of special societies or for public provision for recreation for adults. If a large number of men dissipate whenever they have a holiday, it is evident that they need opportunities and training that will lead them to find more valuable forms of recreation.

Recreation facts to be collected:—

Number of commercial institutions for recreation.

Days open per year.

Number present.

Number of societies and clubs for recreation.

Number of meetings.

Membership.

Attendance.

Public provision for recreation.

Extent and use in more or less detail.

Acres of park, total and per thousand of population.

Acres of playgrounds, total and per thousand of population.

Number and names of societies providing some recreation.

Number of entertainments given.

Average of attendance.

Number of families in a hundred having home amusements and number of times per week.

General conclusions and discussion of needs of the community and how they may be supplied.

Besides the more or less public recreational activities it may be worth while to study the home recreations and estimate their amount and significance. Among these may be included what are sometimes called avocations — some form of work engaged in after the necessary work has been done, but which serves the purpose of recreation.

Cultural influences. Many people find much of their recreation in cultural activities and in their avocations so that no sharp line can be drawn between them. In general, however, there are more permanent effects produced upon the mind by cultural activities than by those that are merely recreational. Theaters should be classed as cultural institutions, although when they are run almost wholly for amusement, they nearly lose their cultural character.

The most distinctly cultural institutions are libraries, museums of art, nature, and history, academies of art and science, lecture courses, study clubs and classes of all kinds, including musical organizations. Books, newspapers, and magazines and the statues and historical memorials found in various public places, all appeal to the intellect and the taste and leave more or less permanent impressions. The decorative qualities of buildings, yards, and homes, and the language, manners, and good taste in dress of the people are also important cultural influences and expressions in every community. All that there is in the community indicating æsthetic tastes and producing cultural effects in the home through societies and by public provision should be observed and estimated.

Cultural facts to be observed or estimated: —

Number of books in library.
Number of books in relation to population.
Average number used per person each year.
Per cent of each class of books in library.
Per cent of each class used.
Number of branch libraries.
Provision for special use by children and others.
Number and kind of museums.
Days open.
Average attendance.
Lists of academic study classes and cultural societies.
Membership.
Attendance.
Number of meetings.
Musical organizations.
Entertainments.
Attendance.
Number and kind of theaters.
Seating capacities.
Average attendance.
Number of occasional lectures and cultural entertainments yearly.
Number and circulation of local papers.
Number of books in homes.
Number of magazines in homes.
Per cent of high-school graduates in community.
Per cent of college graduates in community.
Prevalence of flowers, pictures, and musical instruments in the homes.

Social intercourse. In rural districts proximity and incidental meeting in connection with economic activities are among the principal promoters of acquaint-

ance, while in urban sections institutions play a much larger part, especially those concerned with recreation and culture. Church and school are institutions which play a prominent part in promoting social intercourse in both city and country. In the country a few people are known in many relations, while in the city many people are met, but most of them are known in only one phase of their activities and interests. In the rural community there are a few well-recognized conventions, and public sentiment is manifested in gossip and in the way in which individuals are treated whenever met. In cities each institution and situation has its special conventions, and disapproval for disregarding them is shown only in that particular connection, while the public opinion of the city is largely voiced by the local newspapers. In the country each person is condemned or honored by all according as he does or does not conform to a few simple standards, while in the city he is judged by a different standard by each group of people that he meets in business, in the drawing-room, at clubs, in politics, at church, or in a gambling-hall.

In all personal association, however, external circumstances play a comparatively small part after people have once met. Individualism is the stronger factor, and determines who shall become intimate and who shall remain comparative strangers, however often they meet, who shall become leaders and how people shall group themselves.

In rural districts individuality is more evident than in urban sections. In a city one's actions are largely regulated by special conventions for each institution and situation. In meeting a cultured urban dweller

you can scarcely tell how much of his courtesy is an expression of his personal attitude toward you or merely the conventional amenities due from one of his class and position to one of your class and in that special situation. Class distinctions are much more closely drawn and the treatment you receive is likely to be quite different from that given a person of another class. In a rural community, with fewer class distinctions and less specialized conventions, most of the treatment accorded others is more personal and individual.

Notwithstanding these differences leaders are to be found in both types of community who must be studied in order to understand, not only the social intercourse of the place, but the most important factors in all sorts of activities. The leader in a rural community exerts his influence rather by his personal success and general conduct, while in the city, power is maintained to a greater extent through success in managing institutions. A farmer may hold an influential place in a rural community without taking much part in public movements of any kind, but in a city a man's influence is small unless he identifies himself with institutions and takes part in public affairs. The power of a rural leader depends most upon his personality and that of the urban leader more upon the class to which he belongs and the institutions through which he works.

The different classes of people, the organizations and the unorganized cliques must be noted in a community survey, but the situation can be fully understood only by studying the present leaders ostensible and actual, and sometimes it is necessary also to look up the history of former leaders in order to appreciate the strength of prevailing customs and traditions.

Among the most important things to know about leaders are: First, whether they are real leaders or only occupy the position of leaders; second, whether they are conservative, trying to keep things as they have been, or progressive or even radical in trying to improve or change them; third, whether they are working chiefly for their own advantage or for the advancement of the cause they uphold and the good of the people. A study of leaders should result not in mere opinions, but in a body of objective facts as to who appear to be leaders and just what they have done and tried to do.

Social facts to be obtained: —

Number and characteristics of social classes.

Social organizations among each class.

Other organizations serving social purposes and how.

Leaders in each class and organization, their characteristics, and what they have done.

Organizations and events that promote acquaintance between all classes.

Which is more prominent, home or institutional social life?

To what extent do all members of each family know the same people?

Per cent of divorces to marriages.

What do the members of the same family do in common and how much of the time is spent with other people of their own age and interests?

Is community sentiment prominent and well voiced so that it can easily be obtained from residents or newspapers, or can one discover only individual and class opinion on some or all topics of interest?

To what extent is there conduct opposed to the prev-

alent sentiment of the community or the usual moral and religious views of people of this country?

Religious activity. Religious activity, being confined largely to a single institution, the Church, is more easily studied than any previously discussed in this chapter. Religious surveys have also been made to a greater extent than most other kinds. In cities they have usually been instituted for the practical purpose of learning what people in each section have no connection with the work of the churches in order that their influence may be extended to all. Sometimes the average attendance in all the churches is computed and compared with church membership and total population in the district, and most churches have for the local church and for the denomination statistics of membership and contributions.

Recently, rather extensive church surveys, especially in rural districts, have been made with a view to determining the number and kind of churches that are succeeding best in typical sections of the country. In Montgomery County, Maryland, for example, it was found that nearly half the people were not in church; that there was a church to every two hundred and forty-four people; that twenty-eight per cent of the churches were not growing; that twenty-nine per cent had no organization except Sunday school; that fifty-seven per cent had no organization for young people; that ninety-four per cent had no organization for men; and that eighty-six per cent were making no effort to serve their communities as social centers. In Ohio, it was found that about half the churches with resident pastors and one tenth of those with no pastor were growing. In a poorer agricultural section of three hundred and seventy-

eight country churches, only four per cent had resident pastors and only twenty-one per cent of all the churches were growing.

Of churches with less than twenty-five members in rural Indiana only two per cent, while of those of over two hundred, seventy-nine per cent were growing. The attendance at church service (which was not held in all churches every week) was a little over one fifth the population and the attendance at Sunday school a little less. Of churches giving attention to social and recreational life, sixty-five per cent were growing, while of those not so doing only twelve per cent were growing. These are only a few of the many truths brought out as to the relation of local conditions to church life and the relative success of churches differently managed. It appears that not only do churches that make a feature of social life prosper, but that in rural places where other organizations supply that need, church interest is increased. This shows the close relation of social to religious life, notwithstanding the fact that many of its forms are believed to be directly opposed to the work of the churches. In rural communities the church and the school are the chief organizations supplying social life, and if they fail there is little but association of individuals and families, and among renters this is temporary.

Facts to be obtained regarding churches: —

Per cent of population who are members of churches.

Per cent of population attending church once a week.

Per cent of population attending church occasionally.

Proportion of number of churches to population.

Similar facts for Sunday school and comparison with former years and with similar places.

Average number of organizations connected with each church.

Average membership of organizations connected with each church.

Number of meetings per year of organizations connected with each church.

Attendance at these meetings.

Nature and work of these organizations.

CHAPTER XX

COMMUNITY STUDIES — EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

General considerations. An educational survey must include many facts regarding all phases of community life and its relation to the state, but it concerns itself chiefly with one institution, i.e., the school. This may be studied in four principal aspects: (1) school equipment and control; (2) financial support and management; (3) educational efficiency; (4) social value in the sense of preparing pupils for taking part in the life of the community and of the state.

The standards for judgment of equipment are pretty well established, while those regarding control are in controversy.

School finances have received most attention in connection with a discussion of the salary of teachers and total cost of schools as compared with other places, but are now being considered in relation to the economic condition of the community. The financial management of the school as an institution is being studied.

The third point, educational efficiency, has long been a matter of study and investigation, and recently objective facts as to modes of administration and educational results have taken the place of mere observation and opinion.

The fourth, the social value of the school, has only within the past few years been made the subject of exact study.

An independent and thorough survey of a system of

schools can be made only by experts. Efficient superintendents, however, are making continuous or annual surveys of the schools under their charge which are more or less valuable, and some of their yearly reports are really better than some of the special survey reports that have been made. The school statistics collected by the United States Bureau of Education and by the different states give a partial educational survey of considerable value. The most important work that the nation and state can do for education in the local community is to increase the scope and accuracy of these yearly reports, show the people their significance, and help them, if necessary by a local survey, to see more clearly the condition of their own schools and the improvements that are needed.

School equipment and control. The material equipment of a school system consists of grounds, buildings, furniture, apparatus, and books. An objective survey of these is comparatively easy. The facts as to convenience and suitability of location of schools and the character and extent of the school grounds should be summarized. In connection with this the means of getting to and from school should be noted.

The buildings should all be examined and the conditions found compared with well-established standards of school architecture, seating, and sanitation. The lighting, heating, ventilating, and toilet systems should receive careful attention, not only as regards their construction and condition, but as to the way in which they are being used. Actual figures as to temperature and light in the rooms should be obtained and compared with accepted standards.

The size and organization of the body of school

officials, the state laws under which it works, its rules and methods of business, its relations to the superintendent and his relations to supervisors and teachers should be noted and compared with conditions in other places. Facts indicating success or deficiency in the working of the system of control in that particular community should be collected. It is especially important to notice whether responsibility is clearly defined and what degree of control is exercised by superiors and what freedom and initiative are accorded principals of buildings, special supervisors, and individual teachers.

The work of the truant officer and the character of the medical inspection should be carefully studied and significant facts recorded.

School finances. If the schools are supported largely by local taxation, as is usually the case in this country, the first question to be asked is, what is the assessed value of the property in the place being studied? It is not unusual to find, in the same state, school districts and other administrative units with one tenth the assessed valuation of others. Generally speaking, the thickly settled sections have a greater valuation per person than the thinly settled regions. This gives them a financial advantage with regard to the support of schools that is increased by the fact that in a thinly settled region either a school has to be maintained for a few children or the children must be transported considerable distances. On the other hand, urban districts must tax themselves relatively more for purposes other than educational.

The amount of money spent for school purposes per one thousand dollars of valuation is probably the best

indication that can easily be obtained of whether a community can afford to spend more on its schools or not. A better indication, but less easily accessible, would perhaps be the percentage of average yearly income per person that is used for school purposes. If the school district receives aid from the state, that aid should be proportional to the extent to which the people tax themselves for their schools, rather than to educational results.

The amount per child spent for school purposes is usually considered a pretty good indication of the character of the schools, providing they are well administered; yet in a district with very few children, it may cost twice as much per pupil to maintain a school of the same grade as in another district where there are more children.

In the poorer and sparsely settled regions better schools can be obtained only by the help of more state aid than is given proportionally to the cities. There is another complication with regard to amount spent per pupil, due to the fact that some districts have longer school years than others and some have a larger percentage of children in school. The amount spent per pupil is never a true index of the value the people set upon their school, for the town in Massachusetts that spends most per pupil taxes itself only one fourth as much per thousand dollars as some towns that pay small salaries.

The amount per inhabitant that is spent on schools is significant in a general way, but has no specific meaning, because of the facts previously noted and because the number of children in proportion to the total population varies greatly, as does also the percentage of the children that are in the schools.

The practical questions in every community are these. How much money is there available for school purposes, and if more is needed can the local community afford and be induced to raise more, or can the state be induced to render more aid? If it can be shown that the inhabitants are not taxing themselves as much as are those of other places and that they are not spending as much per pupil, it is reasonable to try to get them to spend more.

After the amount that may be used for school purposes has been determined, the question is how to spend it with the probability of getting the largest results. The tendency in the United States is to put comparatively large amounts into buildings and equipment in proportion to that spent in running the schools. It is usually easier to raise money for a fine new building than for a good superintendent and teachers.

Turning to the problem of running expenses, the first question is, how many days shall there be in the school year? In most cities there are forty weeks of school, but in rural districts, where the children can work on the farm and where money is scarce, the time may be less than half that. In cities it has been found profitable to spend some of the school money in playground work, or to add to the regular term a number of weeks of vacation school for those who have nothing to do and want to attend school.

The next question is that of the school day. It must be admitted that it is not good business to use the school plant only twenty-five or thirty hours a week; but, on the other hand, children cannot profitably engage in the highly specialized activity of book work for more than four to six hours a day. The hours of use of the school

plant may be increased either by lengthening the school day for the pupils and varying the work of the school so as to include many manual, recreational, and cultural activities, as well as the specifically intellectual, that the pupils may not become fatigued, or that the school may be run on the departmental plan as in Gary, or in some other way so that the children will not all be there at the same time, but so that all will have the usual number of hours of schooling and perhaps also manual and recreational training. The first method is feasible in all communities except in the short days of winter in rural districts, while the second is especially suited to large centers of population where the distance to school is short, and where there are many teachers so that adjustment of hours and classes is more easily made.

One of the important questions next to be decided for elementary schools in the cities is the size of classes. In many rural districts they must be small, but where there are many children they may be made of any size desired and the cost per year for each class will be approximately the same. Until recently, the size of class for the best results has usually been a matter of opinion, but some studies have been made which indicate that much more than forty in a room means slower progress, while lowering the number much below thirty has little effect in increasing the rate of progress. Investigations have not yet proved it, but there are good reasons for believing that the more usual policy of having primary classes larger than those of higher grades is not economical, since beginners need individual instruction more than any others and are likely to have to repeat if they do not have it.

In high schools the size of classes is complicated by the variety of subjects offered. In a small school it is impossible to offer many subjects without having very small classes, but in a large school the size of the classes may easily be regulated. In laboratory courses, however, they are of necessity smaller than in literary courses. In both elementary and high schools it is a question of administration rather than of finance as to whether eighty pupils shall be taught in two classes by two teachers or whether they shall be taught in one class by one teacher and given individual aid by another, as in the Batavia schools.

Another problem that concerns both finance and efficiency of work, regards the number of supervisors as compared with the number of teachers to be employed, and the extent to which these supervisors shall oversee all the work of the schools or only special departments of it.

Another important question is that of how to deal with exceptional children. Shall they be allowed to remain with other children, receiving comparatively little benefit and perhaps making the work of the teacher less efficient, or shall teachers be employed to instruct them individually and in comparatively small classes. The latter method seems to be the more expensive, but it is now believed, considering the increased progress made by both normal and exceptional children, that it is really more economical.

In studying a school system, if the records are properly kept, it is just as possible to show the exact cost per year of instructing each pupil in the various subjects as it is for the manufacturer to figure the cost of each process in the manufacture of each article. It may

be shown, for instance, that the cost of teaching Latin per student hour of instruction is less than the cost of teaching manual training or giving a laboratory course in science, because in the latter cases more apparatus is required and the classes must be smaller. When such studies or reports are made, as they have been in Newton, Massachusetts, it is possible for the people of the community to know just how much is being spent each year for various educational purposes and to decide intelligently in what ways they wish more or less money spent in the future.

The question of salary to be paid teachers and supervisors or of increase of salary is one of both finance and administration. In general it is to be expected that where higher salaries are paid more efficient teachers are secured, although this is not necessarily true of a city or in the case of individual teachers. It is well in the school survey to study not only the average salaries, but the methods of promotion, the degree of preparation required for beginning teachers, and the provisions made for their improvement and advancement while in service. It cannot be questioned that the usual custom of increasing salary each year until a maximum is reached is not entirely satisfactory. The usual scholastic examinations are very poor tests of teaching ability, and objective means of testing the efficiency of teachers are not yet well developed. Hence, personal judgment is now, and perhaps must always remain, an important means of determining the worth of the teacher.

Educational efficiency. Entirely aside from cost, we may look upon the school as an institution for bringing about certain educational results. We may examine the course of study to find out what its aims are and

then observe the processes of teaching and judge of their effectiveness, or we may study the effects upon the pupils by observing and testing them.

An expert in education, by visiting typical schools, may form a fairly correct judgment as to the efficiency of the teaching that is being given and may be able to suggest means of improvement. Such a survey, however, yields little but subjective data, and if challenged there is no way of proving the correctness of the opinion of the person who made the survey. This is the reason why some surveys have produced little besides controversy.

If a survey of teaching processes is made, it should contain as much objective description and exact quotation as possible, and if it is not made throughout all the schools, it should be made in those that are admitted to be typical or else in a certain number determined by chance. Taking into account, however, the unnatural conditions produced in a school by such a survey and the personal feelings aroused, it is usually better not to make it a prominent feature. Observation of the actual teaching processes and suggestions for improvement should be made by supervisors in their more or less continuous survey of the schools; but when a special study of a school system is being made by an outsider, it is better for the study of the teaching processes to be used chiefly as an aid to interpreting results obtained in other ways and in suggesting improvement.

More definite objective facts may be obtained by testing the results of teaching than by observing its processes. It must be remembered, however, that only the more superficial results can be accurately measured. The effects of teaching upon the morals and upon the

practical and cultural interests of pupils cannot be adequately and accurately expressed in figures. Neither can intellectual growth be determined with exactness, but it is possible to test with considerable success verbal knowledge, manual skill, and achievements in complex processes of certain types involving both knowledge and skill.

The ordinary examination is largely a test of knowledge. If it is to be used in a school survey and comparisons made with other school systems, then the particular questions used must be based on common portions of the various courses of study, and a comparison should also be made as to the average time spent in each school system on each subject or topic. Of the various tests of knowledge, that of spelling is most easy to make, but in order that the results may be accurate, words that are commonly taught in all schools must be used. Lists of words prepared by the Russell Sage Foundation for each grade, and found to be spelled correctly by seventy per cent of the children in a large number of school systems, furnish a good standard for comparison, providing no opportunity is given for special drill on those particular words, just previous to the giving of the test.

Methods of testing general knowledge by means of vocabulary tests will probably soon be perfected and standards established.

Tests of knowledge of the essentials in the various subjects taught will probably be developed so as to be of general and permanent value, but as yet none have been produced that are short, include only essentials, and that cannot easily be prepared for by special coaching.

Several tests of manual skill, especially of handwriting, have been devised and are proving useful both for teaching and for survey purposes.

The most promising kind of tests, however, are those of ability in complex processes involving knowledge, skill, and intelligence of a special kind. The best examples of these are the Courtis tests in arithmetic. These test the ability of pupils to read numbers and problems, understand them, and write the answers with a speed and a degree of accuracy that may be computed and compared with well-established standards obtained by many thousands of tests.

More recently, tests of ability to read orally or silently and to understand and reproduce the thought are being developed. These doubtless will soon be perfected and standards established so that they may be used in estimating the effectiveness of the teaching being given in any school system. Attempts have also been made to produce accurate tests of language or composition ability, but these as yet are not very reliable or satisfactory. Perhaps no single general test can ever be developed, but special tests for certain grades and for certain kinds of composition may be perfected and made useful.

Although only a beginning has been made in providing tests of the results of teaching that are scientifically accurate, easily given, and that cannot be prepared for by special coaching, yet enough has been done so that objective facts showing what the pupils in different grades can do in various fundamental processes may now form an important part of the results of the study of a school system.

If the school records have been properly kept, it is possible to form a pretty good idea of the efficiency of

the school system in relation to its course of study and standards of achievement by studying the statistics of retardation and acceleration. If the statistics do not show the amount of repetition and double promotion, the age statistics for the different grades will furnish a pretty good measure of the percentage of the retardation and acceleration in completing the required work in the different grades. If there is a great deal of retardation, it means either that the course of study is too hard, the standards of promotion too high, or the teaching inefficient. A low percentage of retardation may mean that the course of study is too easy or the standards of promotion too low, or it may mean that the teaching is unusually efficient.

School systems have in the past often been judged by the number of grade pupils meeting the high-school entrance requirements and the number of high-school graduates who meet college-entrance requirements. It is evident, however, that such a method of judging of a school system is too narrow, because only the few pupils selected by the system are made the basis and the tests of efficiency are made only in lines of instruction prescribed primarily by the colleges. In a large high school, where many courses are offered, the efficiency of the college preparatory work may very well be judged by the success of pupils going to college. As conditions have been, however, this would be a very false, narrow, and misleading standard by which to judge of the efficiency of the whole school system. If colleges would admit, regardless of subjects pursued, as Chicago University is now doing, then the number who succeed in their college work would be a good evidence of the efficiency of the school systems from which they come.

Social value of the school. The primary purpose of the school as a public institution is to give children and young people the training that will fit them for taking an effective part in the work and progress of the community and the state. The success of the schools in doing this work is indicated in part by the way in which the people of the community regard them, as shown by the amount that they give for their support and by the extent to which they are patronized. The latter is pretty well indicated by the percentage of all children between five and twenty enrolled in the schools and by the percentage of attendance.

Another very good indication as to whether the work of the school is appreciated is found in the number of children who continue not only through the elementary schools, but through the secondary. If all went through the high school, about one third of all the children in school would be in high school, whereas the average for the country is only about one eighth. Local economic conditions are, of course, much more favorable in some communities than in others for pupils to continue in school. In many instances, however, the small proportion of children in high school is due to the fact that the standards of promotion are so strict that many are shut out. Again, many leave school because they are not interested and do not see the value of what they are learning. The facts in these respects in a given community may be ascertained by collecting statistics as to the causes of leaving school. Such statistics show that in many places failure in certain required subjects, especially algebra and Latin, has often been the occasion of leaving.

This suggests another method of studying the social

How many teachers' meetings per year?

What is done to promote study and progress among teachers?

Number of teachers with normal school or other special preparation.

Number of teachers in service less than three years.

Number of teachers in service between three and ten years.

Number of teachers in service between ten and thirty years.

Number of teachers in service more than thirty years.

Summary of the reports of the attendance and medical officials of the school or similar facts otherwise obtained.

Financial support and management.

Wealth of school district per inhabitant.

Value of school plant.

Annual cost of running schools.

Annual cost for salaries of teachers, superintendent, and supervisors.

Annual cost for supplies.

School tax per thousand dollars of valuation.

Average cost per pupil in elementary schools.

Average cost per pupil in high school.

Average cost per inhabitant.

Percentage of public funds spent for schools.

Average salaries of grade teachers.

Average salaries of high-school teachers.

Detailed salary schedule.

Average size of all schools in the grades.

Average size of all high-school classes.

Number of schools and classes of each size.

Number of hours given to each subject per year.
Tabulation of the cost per student hour of instruction in each subject.
Number of special classes in the elementary school.
Number of pupils in special classes.
Average cost per pupil.

Efficiency of work.

School population.
School enrollment.
School attendance.
Percentage of children of each age in school.
Number of children in each grade.
Number of children of each age in each grade.
Estimates of percentage of retardation.
Estimates of percentage of acceleration.
Number of repeaters each year.
Number of double promotions each year.
General character of teaching methods.
Description of tests used to determine teaching results with tabulations and comparisons.

Social value.

School population.
School enrollment.
School attendance.
Number attending beyond age required by law.
Percentage of children in high school.
Percentage of graduates of high school taking higher education.
Tables of incomes of persons of different degrees of education.
Facts furnished by employers as to fitness of school graduates.
Facts showing the relation of the school work to the

conditions and life of the community in vocational and other lines.

Tabulated list of causes of leaving school.

Extent of community use of school plant.

Results of tests of adults with course of study.

Results of other tests of the usefulness of school work.

Evidences of the effects of schools upon recreations, morals and interests of pupils and graduates.

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